Spirits in the River:
A Report on the Piscataway People

by

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for

Smithsonian Institution
National Museum of the American Indian
Washington, D.C.

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Executive Summary

The Piscataway are the surviving indigenous people of the Potomac River, on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay in present-day Maryland. An Algonkian people, they descend first from the Lenni Lenape (Delaware) and then the Nanticoke. "Piscataway" translates to "where the waters blend," referring to their capital location at Moyaone, at the confluence of the Potomac and Piscataway Creek, about fifteen miles south of Washington D.C. in Accokeek, Maryland. That site hosted human habitation for thousands of years. The integration of ancestral remains of Piscataway ancestors in the land at Moyaone, binds the people to that land in a specific spiritual relationship that founds traditional cultural identity.

Captain John Smith mapped the Piscataway at Moyaone in 1608. The Piscataway, headed by a central chief, the tayac, dominated a loose alliance of peoples organized for mutual protection including the Anacostan, Portobac, Mattawoman, Nanjemoy, and possibly the Maryland Pamunkey and Yaocomoco as well as the Virginia Tauxenent. European incursions into the Chesapeake, beginning with the Spanish in 1521, debilitated the indigenous population through disease, land grabs, resource destruction, military assaults, and slave raids. King Charles deeded Piscataway territories to Lord Baltimore in 1632, and Maryland settlers entered in 1634. By the end of the century, the Piscataway and their allies were reduced from 8,400 in 1608 to 320 persons. Their lands and political autonomy were completely destabilized, and reservation boundaries were not respected past 1700.

The Piscataway traditional government - for self-preservation - left Maryland by 1699, at the invitation of the Iroquois Confederacy. They settled in Pennsylvania and became known by their Iroquoian name, the Conoy. With other uprooted indigenous peoples, they eventually participated in the French and Indian War, the American Revolution, and the Forest Wars as members of the Western Confederacy of the Old Northwest. After defeat by the United States at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in Ohio in 1794, the remaining Piscataway polity, including the tayac and 25 of his people went back home to Maryland. Other groups of migrating Piscataway either became part of the Iroquois' Cayuga Wolf Clan and settled at the Six Nations Reserve, blended in with the Delaware, or filtered out into the broader society.

The returning Piscataway blended into rural Maryland society, in their old territory in Charles and Prince Georges Counties, but without land. They dispersed onto farms to find wage labor and incorporated into the Catholic Church. There was some blending with remnant Indian people, but the repressive conditions of race casting and removal threats inhibited formal tribal reorganization. Culture was practiced in the home, and most eventually lost their conscious tribal identities by the turn of the century. A few individual families did overtly acknowledge and

practice their traditional culture as Piscataway Indians, in spite of the immense pressures to completely assimilate.

The twentieth century brought the Piscataway opportunities to revitalize their community on a tribal basis. Individual attempts were made by Chief Turkey Tayac, the remaining culture bearer, and Al Wahacasso Proctor Marsh to locate and organize the tribe through the 1920s and 1930s, but these early attempts did not hold. Finally, with the influence of the American Indian Movement, the Piscataway-Conoy Indians legally incorporated as both a tribe and an American Indian service organization in Maryland in 1974 by actions of Chief Turkey Tayac, Billy Tayac, and Avery Windrider Lewis (an Arizona Pima Indian). The Piscataway developed a community center and again practiced their religious traditions as a group at Moyaone, rather than as an individual survivor. Chief Turkey Tayac was buried by an Act of Congress with his ancestors in 1979 at Moyaone, now in Piscataway National Park. Today, the Piscataway have begun to re-purchase their aboriginal lands for ceremonial uses, and experience a vigorous cultural, political, and spiritual renaissance.

1. Introduction

There are phrases that survive in the Piscataway language: *tcipi a keta, ilia dise.* Spirits of the river, motion of water. This river is the Potomac, a vein of Mother Earth's lifeblood. This river, the site of the new National Museum of the American Indian, has always brought an exchange of ideas and peoples - sometimes positive, sometimes negative. And with the new stories that always come to this river, there can also be found a very old, yet unending story. That is the ongoing story of the surviving indigenous people of the Potomac, the Piscataway. Like the Potomac, with its waters bound to the tides from the Chesapeake Bay, the Piscataway people have ebbed and flowed over time. But they have never completely disappeared.

The following is a historical and cultural narrative of the Piscataway that spans pre-colonial times to the present. Statements about traditional knowledge made in the past tense do not necessarily mean that the beliefs are no longer held, but rather keep with the time frame of the narrative. The history was first formulated based upon oral history, and then developed through documentary sources that were available in order to expand the broader context of the story (see Tayac, 1999). The Piscataway Indian Nation, the culturally surviving tribal group, expresses its welcome to the NMAI and hopes that in learning of their history, that the land, the river, and the people will benefit from mutual respect and continuous dialogue. In addition to reading the report, NMAI staff should feel welcome to visit freely Moyaone, the ancient yet surviving sacred site of the Piscataway, located in Piscataway National Park in Accokeek, Maryland as well as to speak with representatives of the nation about any further questions that arise.

2. Piscataway Identity Until 1608

"hee that sees them, may know how men lived whilest the world was under the Law of Nature; and as by nature, so amongst them, all men are free, but yet subject to command for the publicke defense."
— Anonymous Relation of Maryland, 1634 (Hall, 1910:84)

According to oral tradition, the Piscataways had originally been part of the Lenni Lenape (known also as the Delaware) but later migrated to the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay (see map, Figure 2.1). They were then one and the same as the Nanticoke but then split again and moved to the western shore of the Chesapeake, along the Potomac, where they subsequently interacted with the aboriginal peoples in the area (Interviews with Jimmy Flicker Ridgeway, Billy Redwing Tayac; Heckewelder, 1876:90; Tayac, 1988).

The Piscataway, to this day, see themselves as a "southern tip" of the Lenni Lenape (Interview with Billy Redwing Tayac). The Piscataway took their name from their location. Piscataway translates "where the waters blend," and points to the geography of their village at the confluence of the Potomac River and Piscataway Creek (Interviews with Billy Redwing Tayac, Joseph Bedford Proctor Tayac).

In 1660, representatives of Piscataway leader, Uttapoingassenem, recounted their societal ancestry:

> That long a goe there came a King from the Easterne Shoare who Commanded over all the Jndians now inhabiting within the bounds of this Province...the Government descended for thirteene Generations without Jnterruption vntil Kittamquunds tyme [ca. 1630s]. (Archives of Maryland)

The oral account is confirmed by archeological findings and linguistic evidence (Snow, 1978:61; Goddard, 1978:73; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1960:11; Potter, 1980:19; Speck, 1922:2). Surviving Piscataway language shows that words are related, yet distinct from Lenni Lenape (Chief Turkey Tayac's word list; Julian Granberry letter to Gabrielle Tayac, 11/29/96; Ives Goddard personal communications to Gabrielle Tayac, July 1992). For example, the Piscataway word for man is "eno," in comparison to the "leno" of the Lenape. Stephenson (1959:17) supports this origin of the Piscataway by charting the abrupt entry of a new northern pottery style, Pope's Creek Pottery, which replaces the

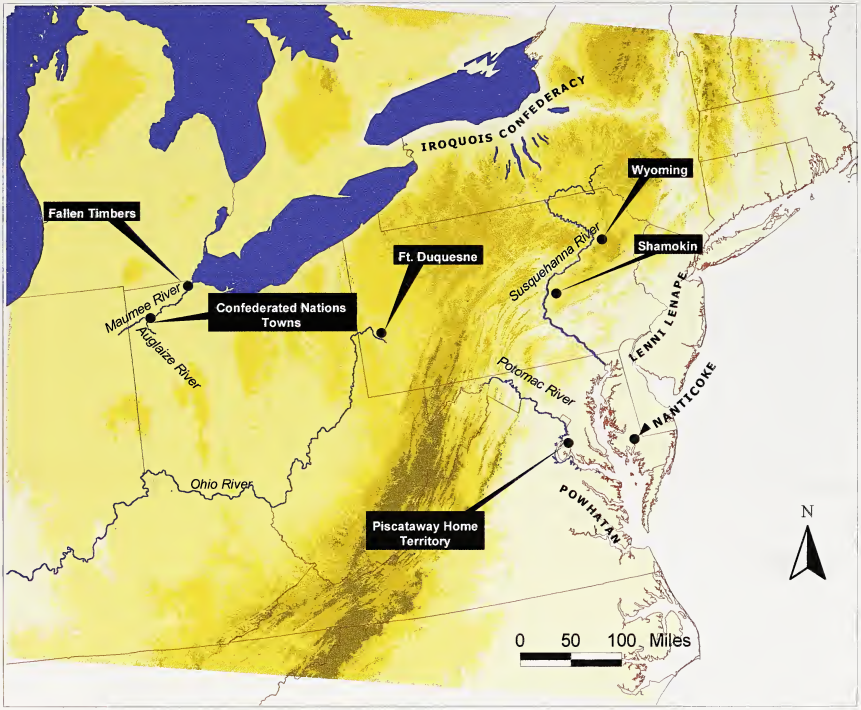

Figure 2.1. Aboriginal Piscataway Territory, other indigenous peoples with whom they interacted, and Piscataway locations during the migration period.

indigenous type, Marcy Creek Pottery. When the Piscataway polity entered the western shore, there were peoples who had been living in that location already for over 10,000 years.

The arrival dates for the northern domineering group range from AD 200 (Clark, 1994) to AD 1300 (Cissna, 1986:29) to AD 1500 (Potter, 1993), and remains a debate among archeologists. Clark and Rountree (1993:126) suggest that the entry of ossuaries, or mass graves, reflects the establishment of a paramount chiefdom particularly since high status chiefs are buried apart from commoners. According to Piscataway oral sources, chiefs, after death, are specially viewed by the Piscataway as a living presence. Regional practices painted by John White during his trip to Roanoke (North Carolina) show the special scaffolding of dead chiefs, pointing to the community desire to keep late leaders among them (Hariot, 1977[1590]). When a chief dies, he is buried under a live red cedar tree and then becomes a living entity that exists as a prayer site for the people. Their spirits are said to wonder among the people for four days after death. The emotional and spiritual ties to the dead leader becomes a tribally specific binding force for the living Piscataway. This identification is a key factor in the specification of a people with the chief's burial places, as well as the ossuaries of the common people. There is a connection to the realm of the Creator, which is dependent upon a certain geographic location. For the Piscataway, this location was - and still is- the village site in Moyaone. The people are bound to the sites of the dead, with the connection of the blood and bone mixed into the very ground as a source of identification with a specific place and associated spirits. To be Piscataway, especially in pre-colonial times, meant to have a specific binding connection to the land base. Their collective identity adapted firmly to the new location on the Western Shore, linked through a physical mixture with the soil.

While formal alliances with local peoples may have been increased by shifts related to European intrusions, there is stronger evidence that a steady development towards political centralization was a trend prior to contact (Snow, 1978:60; Potter, 1993:150). The Piscataway, then, already exhibit an adaptive experience with new environments and assimilation with other indigenous peoples. According to Piscataway oral sources, the peoples on the Western Shore were varied ingredients in a "mixing bowl." While there was a dominant people, the Piscataway centered around Moyaone, the others had their autonomy. One of the politically affiliated peoples, the Yaocomoco, exhibit a material culture quite distinct from the Piscataway again affirming the specificity of cultures (Interview with Wayne Clark, 4/16/94).

The Piscataway language belongs to the Algonquian family, which ranges from the Atlantic coast to the mid-western sections of contemporary Canada and the United States.

Granberry (1996) analyzes twentieth-century surviving Piscataway language as sharing similarities with the neighboring Delaware and Powhatan, but also with Ojibwa, Cree, and Massachusset, "Algonkian languages of yet other distinct sub-groups spoken far to the north." He goes on to classify the surviving Piscataway language as distinct because "These similarities are not shared with either Powhatan or Delaware [Lenape]." Deviations from the neighboring languages may be attributed to eighteenth-century migrations into the Old Northwest.

The Piscataway historically and currently cleave to the Lenape as their "Grandfathers," or sometimes as their "Cousins" due to later Iroquois influences and the Nanticoke as their "Brothers," suggesting further that a descendant relationship exists. The relationships with the Nanticoke remain firm, with families calling each other cousins at present. Through trade networks and cultural commonalties, the Piscataway formed connections not only with their alliance affiliates but with peoples farther afield.

2.1 The Polity

After their entry into the western Chesapeake (in mostly present Maryland borders), the Piscataways held a dominant position over an alliance of local peoples including the Anacostan, Portobac, Mattawoman, Nanjemoy, and possibly the Maryland Pamunkey, Yaocomaco, and Virginia Tauxenent (Clark, 1993; Potter, 1993:19). Thornton (1987:32) estimates the total alliance population to have reached 8,400 individuals by 1608. Population estimates derive from written reports of fighting force size (Graham, 1935:4). A Piscataway head chief, the tayac, declared Moyaone (present Accokeek, Maryland) the center of the confederacy (Tayac, 1988). Allied peoples paid tribute to the center while maintaining autonomy in both internal affairs and foreign relations, although leaders were sometimes assigned by the Piscataway center. The tayac would send brothers and sisters to act as chiefs over other villages further afield (see Figure 2.2).

In A Relation of Maryland, published in 1635 as a pamphlet about the colony in London, one can find information about the governing structure of the Piscataway. The village chiefs, called Werowances (or Werowansquas if they were women), held considerable autonomy (Anonymous, 1925; Potter, 1993:11; Rountree,1989:114; Harriot, 1970). Werowances were advised in civil matters by Wisoes. In times of war, Cockorooses took over as the main decision makers. "Priests," or sacred persons, had the final say regarding whether or not the Piscataway should engage in war (Potter, 1993:14). The Relation notes that although certain individuals were in leadership positions, the leader himself "plants Corne, makes his owne Bow and Arrowes, his Canoo, his Mantle,

Shooes, and what ever else belongs unto him, as any other common Indian" (Anonymous, 1925:84). These village leaders in the Piscataway alliance were accountable to the tayac at Moyaone, but there is no documentation of force used against dissenters (Merrel, 1979:548; MacLeod, 1926:301; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1960; Clark and Rountree, 1993:116). Women could inherit non-tayac leadership positions since the position passed from brother to brother, and then to living sisters if there were no male successors (Beverley, 1947:193).

Moyaone, the stockaded Piscataway capital on the eastern shore of the Potomac, measured approximately 400 feet in diameter (see Figure 2.3 for a view of a similar village). Father Andrew White (1925:43) described the homes which contained patrilocal extended family units in 1635 as designed

> in a halfe ovall forme 20 foot long, and 9 or 10 foot high with a place open in the top, halfe a yard square, whereby they admit the light, and let forth the smoke for they build their fire, after the manner of ancient halls of England.

That the chiefs' homes were larger than others further attests to marked social stratifications. Chiefs also had the responsibility to host visitors, according to oral sources, and that might be a more plausible reason for size differentials. The definitions of leaders were distinct from the European sense of the role because in the indigenous perspective, leaders serve the people rather than the people serving the leader (Piscataway interviews, Iroquois interviews).

The Piscataway polity extended control mostly to the local level. The Piscataway were beginning to expand their political influence and economic interdependency to peoples with whom they had loose affiliations. Resource exchange did not create subsistence hardships for affiliated groups. The tayac, while he held a dominant position throughout the western shore, was not a coercive ruler and did not have the ability to dislocate populations, as did the Powhatan in the Virginia region. Also, unlike the Powhatan, the Piscataway and their affiliates did not have a singular name to apply to the affiliated territories, further attesting to the laissez-faire situation in place there (Rountree, 1990).

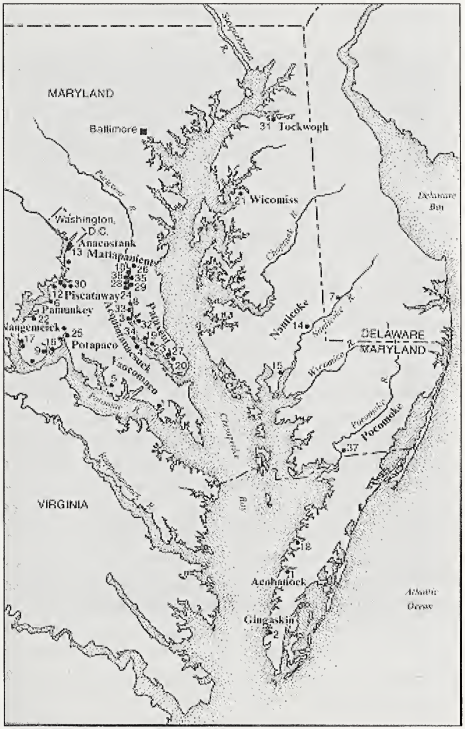

Figure 2.2. Indigenous peoples of the Chesapeake's Western Shore. Source: Feest. 1978.

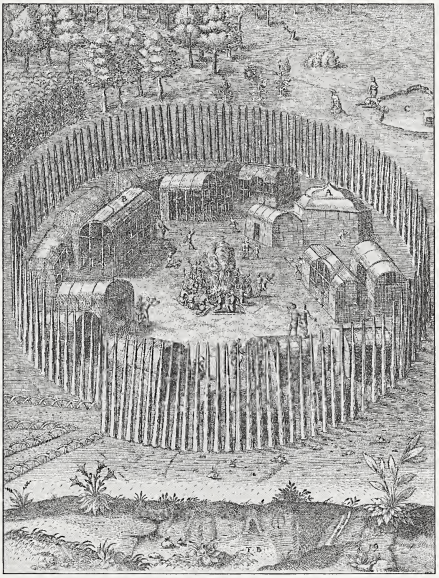

Figure 2.3. A village similar to Moyaone (Harriot, 1590)

2.2 Resource Availability

The Piscataway's abundant environment intersecting the fertile coastal plain, extensive hunting grounds, and rich aquatic sites (including the Chesapeake Bay) provided a reliable economic resource base for sustaining affiliated villages and hamlets (Custer, 1986:152; Fowke Papers, McGuire Papers; Snow, 1978:62; Stephenson, 1959:26; Potter, 1980:18; Cissna, 1986:23; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1960:15). Occasional regional droughts induced population dispersal, but villages reconstituted when conditions improved (Potter, 1993:32). The disbanding of villages, in fact, occurred on a yearly cycle. Groups, sometimes consisting of as many as 300 individuals, left in winter to hunt deer and in early summer to fish. Villages reunified for major events linked to planting and harvesting. The economic cycle was tied to ceremonial practices, binding the village unit together as a whole collective identity.

Gender divided economic activity. Women had control over the interplanted fields of corn, beans, and squash that surrounded their homes. They thus provided half or more of the food available to the community. The integral contribution of women's agricultural production, wild food gathering, and the stewardship that they held over the sedentary village area were sources of their power. Piscataway women maintained a much higher social status, tied to their regulation of the food supply, than their female contemporaries in England (Rountree, 1990:5). Their status afforded them control over their own bodies illustrated by their ability to choose their own husbands.

The plants were associated with women, with corn, beans, and squash known as the Three Sisters, as they are today. Corn, in particular, was believed to be derived from an original grandmother. The stalk is the woman, and the kernels are the children. One of the major ceremonies, the Green Corn, honored women as the "main stalk of the people." In sacred narrative, associated with complex dance and dream cycles, the place of women was knit into the broader society (Mark Tayac Interview; Iroquois Interviews; Turkey Tayac interviews with Kelly Giorgio). Human women were intricately bound to the corn, as life givers. Adolescent girls also went through a ceremonial transformation, as did the boys, giving them a cohort with whom to identify (Gloria Clark, nd). The sites of attaching women ceremonially to their community were placed within the village jurisdiction. Gender identity was also incorporated not simply through formal social roles, but affixed through spiritual narrative and cultural practice.

The Piscataway managed surrounding forests to maximize sustainability and resource returns. In Eastern Woodlands cultures, forests were occasionally burned to clear

underbrush, to enrich the soil, and to create a supportive environment for deer (LaFrance, 1988). In the forests, men engaged in hunting and warring expeditions. A spirit known as "Living Solid Face" ensured success in hunting endeavors, and numerous stone representations of the spirit are found in forests throughout the Mid-Atlantic (Harrington, 1921:61). One of the stone faces in the Piscataway jurisdiction along Piscataway Creek, was carved onto a boulder in the forest. It endured until the 1930s, when Bureau of American Ethnology scholars guided to it by Turkey Tayac, ordered its removal for study. The jackhammers used to remove it caused the face's disintegration. All that remains is a photograph (National Anthropological Archives; Piscataway Indian Nation Papers). The presence of the stone face in the woods, however, points to the spiritual protection of male economic ventures in traditional times. Men also left the villages to set up fishing camps. There was some overlapping of activities, as men helped to clear the women's fields and women accompanied the men's traveling groups.

Both women and men practiced physically intense economic activities, but their structure of labor left them with a great deal of leisure time - more than the vast majority of Europeans during that time period (Clark, unpublished; Rountree, 1990:89; Schonenberger, nd). The Piscataway, then, were also able to direct energies toward spiritual pursuits and gathering decorative items including body paints, antimony ore, peake or shell beads, tobacco, pipes, quartz, copper, and turtle-shell rattles (National Museum of Natural History collections). The distinctive forms of body decoration and personal effects displayed a physical manifestation of identity markers.

The Piscataway elite attained wealth in luxury items through the tributary payments of affiliate peoples. They, in turn, redistributed resources through feasts and lavish "give aways" accompanying ceremonial occasions (Interviews with Billy Redwing Tayac, Joseph Bedford Proctor Tayac, Mark Tayac

2.3 Global Impacts

Stockades surrounding Piscataway towns that appeared between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries indicate physical needs for defense. Evidence on the stockades around Moyaone comes from dating post holes at the site (National Park Service, 1980). The trend toward centralizing power in the tayac among Piscataway allies also points to a growing reliance on mutual defense (Cissna, 1986:23; Snow, 1978:62). The sources of conflict can be found predominantly in culturally dissimilar indigenous and European invaders.

2.4 Indigenous Relations

The Powhatan Chiefdom to the south generally maintained peaceful relations with the Piscataway (Graham, 1935:5; Clark and Rountree, 1993:16). Unlike Europeans, Tidewater Algonquians viewed waterways as links and district centers rather than barriers (Rountree, 1990:6). The Fall Line (along the Potomac River), established in BC 2,000, was a dynamic boundary between piedmont and coastal plain peoples, where significant trading towns at Anacostan (also known as Nacotchtank, present-day Washington, D.C.) and Patawomeke flourished (Potter, 1993:155). Periodic conflict did arise between the Powhatan and the Piscataway, but incidents were neither widespread or continuous. The Nanticokes and the Lenape to the north, also sharing similar Algonquian cultures and languages, did not pose a significant threat to the Piscataway either.

Non-Algonquian peoples, including the Iroquoian Susquehannocks and Massawomecks and the Siouan Manocans and Manahoacs, did engage the Powhatan and the Piscataway in warfare. The Massawomecks, most likely the Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy, according to the Siouan Manahoac observer, Amorlock, were warring with "all the world" (quoted in Potter, 1993:175). Conflicts intensified after AD 1575, a date corresponding with the furtherance of the European-introduced fur trade. The Piscataway became more centralized and the Powhatan extended their coercive formal chiefdom due to these disturbances. The political defense mechanisms of alliance worked as a protection for the Piscataway and their affiliates.

2.5 European Influences

Direct European contact in the Chesapeake Bay region was first recorded in 1524, with the Giovanni da Verrazano expedition (Rountree, 1990:15; Potter, 1993:161; Brasser, 1978:80). The Chesapeake, experiencing numerous Spanish and French expeditions, was noted as the Bahia de Santa Maria on official Spanish Padron General maps in 1527 and as Bahia de Madre de Dios in 1561.

European voyagers combined profit motives and dehumanization to justify numerous brutal actions against the peoples that they encountered. Villages were sometimes destroyed so that the voyagers could steal their food stores and furs. Slave hunting expeditions conducted by Francisco Gordillo in the Chesapeake began in 1521 (Potter, 1993:161). Voyagers often kidnapped entire groups to serve as guides to resources or to bring back to Europe or the West Indies for slavery and for showing human curios at court. Voyagers made special efforts to kidnap individual adolescents for purposes of

language training and cultural assimilation so that these youngsters could act as intercultural mediators on future expeditions (Potter, 1993; Rountree, 1990; Josephy, 1994). In 1588, the Spanish kidnapped a boy from the Potomac River and another from Maryland's Eastern Shore. The first immediately died of grief. The second converted to Christianity in Santo Domingo and then died of smallpox (Rountree, 1989:20).

Trade, particularly in furs, became more routinized between Indians and Europeans in the second half of the sixteenth century. Europeans made use of the vast indigenous trading networks that were already in place. The beaver felt hat as a fashion rage spread through Europe, inspiring increasing searches for pelts. Indian men were used as trappers, tipping the indigenous economy away from the previous gender balance and decreasing women's status. Furs were exchanged for utilitarian items including cloth and metal items, but also for hard liquor which caused a public health crisis in indigenous societies (Brasser, 1978:80).

Both European and indigenous powers competed for control of the fur trade. The contest for fur monopolies intensified enmities between English, French, and Dutch powers in Europe. Maneuvers to become the main suppliers of furs led to new contests between indigenous societies. The northern Iroquoian peoples, such as the Massawomekes or Iroquois Confederacy, began their own conquests of southern and western lands as their own fur resources became depleted. The Chesapeake societies, then, suffered violent incursions from both indigenous and European foreigners.

2.6 Early Colonization Attempts

European attempts to organize permanent Chesapeake settlements failed in the sixteenth century. The first unsuccessful incident points to the fact that peoples experiencing early violations were far from passive victims. In 1561, a Spanish crew kidnapped an adolescent Kiskiack boy, from a chief's family, on Virginia's James River. He was taken to Spain and then to Mexico where he was baptized with the name of the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco. Don Luis studied diligently with the Dominicans, who eventually came to trust and admire him. He then accompanied a Dominican group to Cuba, where he persuaded them to return with him to his homeland in order to set up a mission in 1566. The first mission was aborted, but Don Luis convinced a group of Jesuit missionaries to carry out the goal in 1570. With complete faith in Don Luis, eight Jesuits and a Spanish boy, led by Father Juan Baptista de Segura, embarked without soldiers to the Kiskiack country.

Within two days of arriving Don Luis abandoned the Jesuits to return to the village, Ajacan, where his brother was chief. The missionaries proceeded in setting up their base, but aggressively demanded that Don Luis return to them for the following five months. Most likely harboring long-standing resentments for his captivity, Don Luis and a Kiskiack group killed the missionaries except for the boy catechist, Alonso de Olmos, whom his brother adopted.

The Spanish avenged these killings in 1572, sending Pedro Menendez de Aviles from Havana. Engaging in open battle with the Kiskiacks upon their arrival, the Spanish captured the principal chief, an uncle of Don Luis. Although Menendez agreed to free him in exchange for Olmos, he opened fire on the Kiskiacks when the boy was returned. The Spanish hung the principal chief and other captives from the yardarm of their ship, and never again returned to the Chesapeake.

Numerous historic accounts claim that Don Luis had a final revenge, however. Believed to be Powhatan's brother, Don Luis took the name Opechancanough, "He Whose Soul Is White." It was the elderly Opechancanough, in 1622, who led the Powhatan force against the English Jamestown Colony, almost completely destroying it (Potter, 1993; Rountree, 1990; Josephy, 1994; Brasser, 1978).

2.7 Population Changes

The periodic kidnapping and physical clashes did not have a significant population effect on the Piscataway. Often without ever seeing a voyaging ship crew, Atlantic Coast indigenous peoples suffered greatly from invisible European forces. Epidemics of European diseases to which indigenous peoples had no resistance, including smallpox, typhoid, measles, and the Bubonic Plague raged from Florida to New England. These epidemics persisted throughout colonial history, wiping out up to ninety percent of the population in certain areas (Thornton, 1990:45). While Potter (1993:165) argues that the pre-1600 population exhibits relative health, he admits that archeological evidence remains elusive. Moreover, eyewitness accounts point to mass death in the late 1500s. For example, the Powhatan stated to John Smith the he had "seene the death of all [his] people thrice" (quoted in Rountree, 1990:25).

2.8 Common Traditions

Throughout the Piscataway allied territories, like spiritual beliefs and traditions were practiced with some local variations. These traditions at times brought villages together, but not necessarily between autonomous affiliates. While the Powhatan held chiefdom-wide ceremonies such as the huskanaw (the male initiations), the Piscataway had much looser ties with other peoples in the Chesapeake's western shore.

An examination of common traditions remains important, however, because aboriginal features provide a basis for future pan-Indian understanding among indigenous peoples. For example, the understanding of wampum, the English contraction of the Algonquian "wampumpeak," as a legally binding device and the smoking of tobacco in pipes as a confirmation of agreements held for peoples who would act together in subsequent centuries. Wampumpeak translates to mean "a white string of shell beads that are animate," pointing to the representation of political and spiritual matters (Akwe:kon, nd). Significance of wampum to the Piscataway is apparent in the translation of the name of the tayac, Wahacasso, through the Lenape (Delaware) cognate "ochquaso," meaning a "belt of wampum" (Brinton and Anthony, 1888:103).

As in other indigenous societies, the sacred realm pervaded the Piscataway world. Both the animate and inanimate beings of creation were considered to have a living spirit. The Piscataway believed in a supreme being, called Manet, who directed petty deities (Piscataway Indian Nation Papers; Harriot, 1970:25). Creation began in the waters, and a woman was the first person of humanity (Harriot, 1970:25). This woman, often thought of as Sky Woman, fell from a hole in the clouds and with the help of different animals, landed on the back of a turtle floating in a great sea. The traditional narrative takes days to speak, and is still recounted among the Iroquois Confederacy (Iroquois Confederacy Interviews). Today, with this imagery, the Piscataway as well as other North American Indians call the Western Hemisphere "Turtle Island." They point to the roundness of the planet Earth as a physical similarity to the turtle, floating in the vast seas of space, as a rationalized interpretation of the creation narrative. In pre-colonial times, this narrative was specified to the location in which people lived, but later ordered thought on a far more expansive level to include continents and planets, pointing to the adaptability of localized traditional knowledge.

The Piscataway spent time apparently "appeasing" a deity called "Okee," according to missionary observers (Cissna, 1986:85, Rountree, 1990:133; White, 1634:45). Okee's actual severity in the Piscataway viewpoint can be questioned. Perhaps Okee was the balance to Manet, not a cultural cognate to the devil, as Jesuits were looking for when

they recorded his presence. Often, missionaries searched for Christian counterparts to God and the devil within indigenous religious traditions. The sharp dualities between good and evil presented themselves in distinct ways in woodlands traditions. For example, the whirlwinds could be seen both as a destructive force and as a purifier at the same time. Offerings and supplications to simultaneous positive and negative forces maintained order and balance in the universe. The drive for perceived balance later became the basis for cultural practice that would restore the environment to health.

Priests, shamans, and healers pursued contact with the supernatural, which was perceived as part of the mundane world, in order to maintain balance. The tayac also was admitted into spiritual councils, surrounding him with a sacred quality. Early recorders noted such activity as practicing "magic." Thomas Harriot (1972[1590]:54), a member of the Roanoke expedition, called holy people "conjurers or jugglers." This term is misleading as implies trickery or slight of hand (Talamantez, 1991). Harriot goes on to describe the spirits as "devils," again pointing to the misinterpretations brought forth by sixteenth century records. More accurately, these people, along with the general populace were seeking power. Power in this sense is not defined as a tool of influence or coercion. Rather, power is the development of the ability to reach the sacred and the supernatural realm.

A great deal of emphasis was placed on ceremonies pertaining to the dead (see Figure 2.4). Priests watched over the bodies of deceased chiefs which were laid out in a temple called the Quioccosan (Cissna, 1986:86; Harriot [1590] 1972:72). A physical representation of a deity, Kewas, carved out of wood presided over the temple (Harriot, [1590]1972:26). Most people, after death, experienced a process of secondary burial in an ossuary at an annual ceremony. The Piscataway, according to oral sources, believed that their dead acted as intercessors between the living and the Creator. Ancestors always accompanied their living descendents, providing guidance and protection. The bones of the dead, in contact with Mother Earth, could provide spiritual company for the living. The dead had their last vestiges of living - their smiles, sadnesses, and common experiences - all invested into their bones. The Piscataway prepared the dead for ossuary burial every several years in the Feast of the Dead. This ceremony intimately tied the people to their land. At Moyaone, the ossuaries were even located within the village stockade.

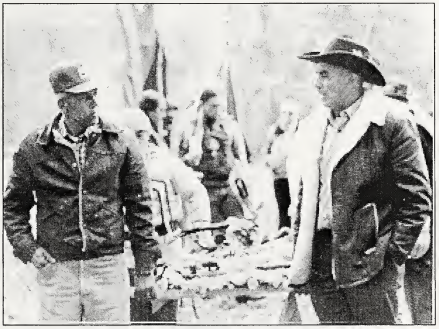

Figure 2.4. Theodore Swann and Ravenall Harley at contemporary Feast of the Dead.

Tobacco was an essential element in Piscataway ceremonial life (see Figure 2.5). Walking in the modern fields within the confines of ancient Moyaone, I frequently find pipe fragments. White clay pieces of pipe abound on the grounds, sometimes decorated with impressed designs - these were the instruments used to smoke tobacco. To the Piscataway people, the Creator gave divine instructions regarding tobacco, it is said in oral narrative. Tobacco is the medium for prayer. The smoke, either placed directly in the fire or in pipes, transmits human prayer to the Creator. Through the smoke, the Creator can listen to the prayers. Tobacco remains the preeminent spiritual plant among the Piscataway, as well as among other indigenous peoples throughout the hemisphere (Piscataway Interviews; Iroquois Interviews; Personal communications with Cofan elders in Ecuador, April 25, 1988). Numerous elements mixed into the land, the ancient pipes illustrate the abundance of tobacco smoking among the Piscataway.

Figure 2.5. Chief Turkey Tayac's personal effect showing tobacco twist, personal pipe, red cedar tamper, and gorget with beaver and wild turkey.

Father Andrew White describes tobacco's use in this 1634 passage:

> At a day appointed the townes about mett together, and built a great fire, then standinge all about the same, lifted up their hands to heaven Crieing *Taho Taho,* after this was brought forth a bagge of Poate, which is their taobacco, with a great tobacco pipe, and carried about the fire, a young man following it, crieing *Taho Taho,* with great variety of gesture of body, this done they filled the pipe and gave to every one a draught of smoake from it which they breathed out on all parts of their bodies, as it were to sanctifie them to the service of their god. (p.45)

Red cedar branches placed on the fire purified meeting participants in a similar manner to incense used in other religious traditions (Chief Tayac, 1990).

Father Andrew White's (1634:43) description of the Piscataway points to wampum usage and to the half-red, half-blue facial markings used also by Lenapes in national ceremonies through time. Such color divides were placed on figures used in later millenarian movements. He notes the Piscataway as

> very proper and tall men, by nature swarthy, but much more by art, painting themselves with colours in oile a darke read...As for their faces they use sometimes other colours, as blew from the nose downward, and read upward...They weare their hair diversly some haveing it cut all short, one halfe of the head, and long on the other; others have it all long, but generally they weare all a locke at the left eare, and sometimes at both eares which they fold up with a string of wampampeake or roanoake about it.

The wampampeake, referred to by its colonial English contraction "wampum," is often noted to be a form of native currency. In fact, wampum strings and woven belts had a sacred quality, giving confirmation to the meanings derived from the design. Basically, wampum strings and belts acted as mnemonic devices, and were almost always used in any social transaction as legally binding contracts or histories.

Sweatlodges, used for purification, were prevalent throughout the region (Rountree, 1989; Potter, 1993). The presence of "Sweathouse Road" near Baltimore shows the ancient regional usage. The sweatlodge rituals accompanied major ceremonies and family prayer gatherings. Men and women entered the sweatlodge together as a family, binding participants in kin relationships. People who came into the ceremony that were not

actually part of the biological family were given the distinction as such. During these ceremonies, participants reminded themselves of their embeddedness in the natural and spiritual world

During menses, women separated from their homes and resided in the menstrual hut. At the onset of menses, young girls went through rites of passage where they were sequestered for a set period of time. They were hooded from public view and not allowed to touch their own bodies, using scratching sticks. Female mentors instructed and cared for the girls, guiding them towards their ensuing roles as adult women in Piscataway society (Clark, nd; Rountree, 1989; HRAF Delaware 570). The menstrual seclusion stemmed from the belief that women held an unbalancing amount of power during that time, not that the event itself was unclean. Women were afforded the chance to take a rest from mundane activities and spend their time in reflection during their menses, while others cared for them. Later observers noted that native peoples were shocked that Europeans made their women work during their menses, believing this enforcement to be insensitive and cruel (Heckewelder, 1876).

3. "To the Utmost Bownds:" Piscataway in Colonial Maryland, 1608-1700

"Yet some doubt I have of your coming hither, that makes me not so kindly seek to relieve you as I would. For many do inform me your coming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possess my country...To cheer us of this fear, leave aboard your weapons. For here they are needless, we being all friends and forever Powhatans." - Powhatan to Captain John Smith, 1608 (Nies, 1996:119)

"You come too near Us to live & drive Us from place to place. We can fly no farther." - Mattaguund, Speaker for the Piscataway, to Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland, April 11, 1666 (Md. Arch. II)

The Piscataway's ancient village-based world changed irrevocably with the seventeenth century advent of permanent English settlement in their territories. In addition to having their homeland deeded out from under them by King Charles to Lord Baltimore as Maryland in 1632, they were also caught between European conflicts played out on the Atlantic coast. To the north, Europeans fueled a "cold war," by arming indigenous allies to corner the market for furs. The Iroquois Confederacy as well as other Iroquoians including the Susquehannocks, advanced into Piscataway territories for trade territories and to encourage assimilation of other peoples into their government in order to present a substantial force against invading Europeans. To the south, English colonists at Jamestown in Virginia under Captain John Smith grabbed land for a tobacco economy and crushed the Powhatan Confederacy after successive military conflicts.

Diseases also spread along trade routes. European diseases, especially smallpox, typhus, measles, and alcoholism, weakened indigenous societies and their resistance against deliberate genocidal policies and practice (Thornton, 1987:44; Tanner, 1987:169). As Thornton (1987:47) comments, early depopulation left a "land widowed by early epidemics." Major epidemics affecting the Chesapeake region began in 1564, coming from a Spanish mission and lasted until 1570. In 1608, and again between 1617 and 1619 the Eastern Shore of Virginia was affected. Bubonic plague raged from the Chesapeake to New England in 1617. Between 1622 and 1631, entire communities on the Merrimac were exterminated. Smallpox struck through Delaware in 1654 and 1663 (Cissna, 1986:107). A Virginia smallpox epidemic began in 1667 when an infected sailor went ashore. In the mid-seventeenth century, Maryland indigenous communities lost about 90 percent of their population due to epidemics (Thornton, 1987:70).

Colonial authorities directly contributed to alcoholism among the Piscataway, contributing to social problems. Mattaguund ("Monatquund"), speaker for the Piscataway, came to Maryland's deputy lieutenants in 1670 to ask for protection. He spoke,

> first in the name of the Boys, next in the name of the elder Persons that they might eat drink Sleep and play in quiet, the women, in like manner, desire the peace, acknowledging the Lord Proprietary for their Lord and Protector, next the old men desire it that they may sleep by their wives quietly and take their Tobacco: that they had not long presented any thing and that now they came to keep in memory the peace that now they are reduced to a small Number and therefore and therefore they cannot present any thing Considerable, Lastly from the miserable Poor they desire that hereafter when their Nation may be reduced to nothing perhaps they may not be Scorned and Chased out of our [the Maryland Colony] Protection. (Archives of Maryland V:65-66)

The lieutenants confirmed that in spite of the Piscataway poverty and inability to make substantial tributary gifts to the colony, that their peace treaties held fast. To consolidate this agreement, the lieutenants gave Mattaguund and two Piscataway councilors, Unnacasey and Wappassanough, a match coat and two gallons of rum. Mattaguund's earnest complaints reveal numerous stresses overwhelming Piscataway society less than thirty years after permanent English colonization. Poverty based upon territorial loss, along with severe population decline and colonists' harassment, becomes starkly evident.

The social effects of disease were devastating. Famine often followed because there was not enough labor to tend the fields and to hunt. In an oral society, important culture bearers disappeared leaving vacuums of knowledge. Inheritance of leadership was disrupted (MacLeod, 1926:305). Challenges to belief in traditional healing practices left an aura of depression that compounded the alcohol use encouraged by traders and colonial officials. Populations could not recover because of the continual attacks on them promoted by conflicts first in the fur trade and then for land. Unlike the pre-settlement period of the sixteenth century where disruptions were followed by recovery periods, disease irreversibly changed the Piscataway in the colonial period because of its combined impact with war and ecological degradation.

Iroquois, particularly Seneca, and Susquehannock attacks furthered the Maryland authorities' justification of a reservation system for the Piscataway and their affiliates in the late seventeenth century (Robinson, 1987:72; Archives of Maryland XV:283-284;

286-288; 299-300). In 1680, the Lord Proprietary and his council decided that the Piscataway and the Mattawoman should remove themselves to reside among the Nanticoke in order to avoid further attacks (Archives of Maryland, 1987:108). While the Piscataway agreed to go to Nanticoke, the Mattawoman and the Choptico declined due to enmities with the Nanticoke. The native allies stated that they preferred to remain at the Piscataway fort (Archives of Maryland, 1987:109).

The separate decisions taken by the various peoples reflects their continual autonomy of the affiliated allies from the dominant Piscataway, despite colonial efforts to merge them for ease of administration. Finally, the Piscataway and their affiliates (Mattawomans, Chopticoes,and Nanjemoys) did all remove together to Zechiah Swamp, thus losing their former residences (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1960:39; Cissna, 1986:171; Archives of Maryland, 1987:114). The count for the Piscataway in 1680 was 320 persons (Cissna, 1986:171). Their "subjects," the Mattawoman and Chopticos, combined numbered not more than 90 persons (Archives of Maryland XXV:256). Population decline, acknowledged in Mattaguund's speech ten years before, had been actualized.

At the time of a population nadir, the Piscataway said that "they are very desirous to make peace with the Northern Indians [Iroquois]" (Archives of Maryland XV:278-279). In accordance with their cultural relationship to their "grandfathers," the Delaware negotiated the peace accord between the Piscataway and the Iroquois. Maryland signed a peace treaty with the Iroquois in 1682. The Iroquois offered the Piscataway and their "confederates" entry into the Covenant Chain (Marye, 1935:225; Livingston Indian Records, 1987:243). Corresponding with their formalized relationship to the Iroquois, the Piscataway began to seek solutions to Maryland's destructive policies through means outside of a localized approach. The Piscataway and their "confederates," under the influence of the Great Law of Peace, could find the indigenous solidarity needed to protect themselves.

3.1 The Maryland Colony: Endeavoring to Subjugate the Savage

The Maryland Colony introduced policies that culminated in the internal displacement and decline of the Piscataway and their confederates. In 1634, the Ark and the Dove, carrying a colonizing population, a governor, Lord Leonard Calvert, and a Jesuit missionary, Father Andrew White, sailed up the Potomac not yet knowing where Maryland would begin (Robinson, 1987; White, [1634]1987). The Piscataway, already experienced with the dangers accompanying colonial enterprises, did not welcome the party. Instead of participating in defensive actions on a regional level, as they had briefly

with the Powhatans, the Piscataway themselves became a target in their own homeland. Father White (1987:7) describes the Piscataways' wariness during the initial encounter:

> At our first comeing we found (as we were told) all in armes; the king of Pascatoway [the tayac Wannas] had drawne together 500 bowmen, great fires were made by night over all the Country, and the biggnesse of our ship made the natives reporte, we came in a Canow as bigg as an Iland, with so many men, as trees were in a wood, with great terrour unto them all.

Concerned with this defensive posture, the ships proceeded further up river to an island originally named for its thickness of herons, St. Clements. Finding the site too small for permanent settlement, the party designated it for a fort to help keep out foreign trading competitors. As Captain Newport had done in Virginia, the Lord Calvert claimed the area simply by setting foot upon it and erecting a cross.

Before their arrival, King Charles of England had chartered Maryland in 1632 to the Baron of Baltimore, Cecelius Calvert. Lord Baltimore appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, as governor. King Charles deeded all of the mineral and biological resources of Maryland to the Calverts. With pen to paper, never negotiating with aboriginal stewards of the land, the entire territories of the Piscataway, the Patuxents, the Nanticoke, and at least 30 other indigenous peoples were immediately usurped. In the 1632 Charter of Maryland, King Charles commands the Baltimores to use Maryland for "the propagation of the Christian Faith" (Charter of Maryland, 1987:6). In mentioning the Indian presence, King Charles states,

> And because in so remote a Countrey, and situate amongst so many barbarous nations, the incursions as well of the Salvages themselves, as of other enimies, pyrates and robbers, may probably be feared: Therefore Wee...doe give power by these presents, unto the now Lord Baltemore....to make warre, and to pursue the Enemies and Robbers aforesaid, as well by sea as by land....to vanquish and take them, and being taken, to put them to death by the Law of warre. (Charter of Maryland, 1910:107)

Whatever further agreements and dealings were made with Indian nations, it was this philosophical base from which they came. Peaceful dealings with the Piscataway were made at first for English self-preservation, and later when they presented no further threat to Maryland. The following year, 1633, Lord Baltimore instructed the colonists to honor

god by "endeuoring the conversion of the sauages to Christianity" and to reduce them "vnder the subjection of his Crowne" (Calvert Papers, 1987:7).

When King Charles chartered Maryland, Governor Calvert believed that he had sole proprietary rights to the land. Governor Calvert then negated any direct sale of land from Indians to other parties. He denied any Indian ownership of their aboriginal territories (Calvert Papers, 1987:22). In 1649, a colonial assembly under Governor William Stone passed an act concerning purchasing land from the Indians. The new law stated that "it shal be lawfull for the said Lord Proprietary & his heires to enter vppon seize possess & dispose of any such lands or tenements soe from time to time purchased or acquired from any Indian" (Archives of Maryland, 1987:28). The Marylanders did not find it wise for their personal security to immediately exhibit this attitude. They first approached the more numerous and secure Piscataway with care.

Advised by Captain Henry Fleet, the former captive who succeeded in a trading business in the Chesapeake, Governor Calvert sailed from St. Clements to Piscataway to speak with the tayac, Wannas about an appropriate place to reside. The tensions between the Piscataway and the Marylanders are further exposed by the fact that Governor Calvert did not leave the ship. Rather, Wannas came aboard to discuss a settlement location with the governor. Wannas was reluctant to share land with the Marylanders, but given the recent history of Virginia, could not afford to offend the English (Marye, 1979; Semmes, 1937; Bozman, 1837; Axtell, 1986). In answering Governor Calvert's questions about a site, Wannas stated that "he would not bid him goe, neither would hee bid him stay, but that he might use his owne discretion" (White, 1987:8). Taking Wannas' coldness as a plain signal for discord, Governor Calvert decided to proceed further down river. Axtell (1986:3) contends that Captain Fleet, who translated for Wannas, also steered the conversation so that the settlers would not interfere with his trading business.

Captain Fleet and his rival, William Claiborne, directed the majority of trade that took place in the upper Chesapeake Bay (Archives of Maryland V:164-167; Robinson, 1987:1). The London Company invested in the beaver trade in the region (Neill, 1876). Within six months of their first landing, Marylanders involved themselves in the trade as well by creating a joint stock company for that purpose. They shipped over 1,000 yards of trading cloth, 600 axes, 40 dozen hawk's bells, 300 pounds of brass kettles, 30 dozen hoes, and 45 gross of Sheffield knives for use in exchange for resources and land with indigenous peoples (Fausz, 1985:253).

Trading businesses were intimately attached to English politics in the colony and in the homeland. Claiborne, affiliated with Virginians, claimed Kent Island as his own base of

operations in disregard to the Maryland grant in England. He persisted in hostilities that resulted in bloodshed by 1635 in the naval battle of two proprietary ships, the St. Helen and St. Margaret against Claiborne's Cockatrice (Robinson, 1987:1). Competition between traders also led to bloody violence between indigenous partners as well as between Indians and whites (Archives of Maryland V:164-165). Fleet's conflicts with acting Governor, Giles Brent, basically closed with the expulsion of Brent as a Catholic during the Puritan uprisings of the 1640s.

Governor Calvert proceeded to establish his colony at a Yaocomoco village, with the reported acquiescence of the indigenous residents (White, [1634]1987:9; Graham, 1932). The Yaocomoco, accepting gifts of axes, hoes, and knives in exchange for sharing their land, appeared all too pleased to abandon an area that had been constantly under attack from the Susquehannocks. They agreed to stay through their harvest, and then withdrew to another site. From the Yaocomoco perspective, they most likely had no idea that accepting gifts meant allowing a small group of English to take over their village. Allowing another group to share their land did not mean that the Yaocomoco abdicated their rights to coexist upon it. Governor Calvert named the site St. Mary's, and it became the first capital of the new colony.

Radiating out from St. Mary's, waves of English colonists arrived and invaded indigenous territories. Despite official promises to set aside and to protect indigenous area, English settlers and their livestock encroached on Piscataway lands. Indentured servants were given fifty acres of land at the end of their service. The distress of many people was voiced by the Queen of Portobacco when she complained on September 14, 1663. She protested that her people had to leave their towns and remove themselves to the

> utmost bownds of their land - Leaving place to the English to Seate on their ancient plantcon, they not knowing the way and means to fence in their Corne fields as the English doe. (Archives of Maryland:489)

While Maryland authorities often responded to such complaints by ordering the settlers out of indigenous-controlled land, they did not physically enforce orders. The streams of white settlers did not cease. Colonial responses to the situation induced the Piscataway and their affiliates to change their notions of land tenures by making them fence the land and claim ownership. Ownership of land was an alien concept to most indigenous peoples.

In 1651, the Maryland Proprietor proposed a reservation, Calverton Manor, for the Piscataway affiliates and others but not for the Piscataway themselves (Archives of Maryland, 1987:29). The purpose was to separate the races so that they would no longer injure each other. Segregation rather than resolution provided the ideological basis for the Maryland reservation system. The reservation system on the Western Shore, however, did not last very long. Peoples were constantly uprooted and shifted into different locations.

The Proprietor patented Calverton Manor to consist of 10,000 acres in 1669 (Land Office, Liber 12, Folio 339, "Indian Lands," 1669). There the Mattaponi, Wicomoco, Patuxent, Lamasconsons, Chopticos, and Kighahnixons would be brought to "Civility" and accordingly to submission. Communal land stewardship, basic to indigenous tradition, would be undermined with individual land allotments. Calverton Manor was never fully operational during the disruptions resulting from the Puritan challenge in England's civil war (Robinson, 1987:3). Three more reservations were patented: Choptico Manor in 1671, Zachia Manor in 1667, and Panquia Manor in 1667 (Land Office Patents, Liber X, Folio 488-489). In all, the land holdings of the Piscataway and their affiliates amounted to more than 30,000 acres (communication with Rebecca Seib, April 1999). The indigenous parties never ceded these last territories, yet colonial authorities never enforced reservation boundaries.

The Maryland authorities did make explicit efforts to enforce the segments of agreements that applied to their own welfare and safety. English settlers consistently made efforts to capture and to punish indigenous individuals who had allegedly attacked English settlers. These individuals were to be delivered to Maryland authorities for punishment under colonial law. In the reverse situation, there was a great disparity in sentencing. For example, Major Thomas Trueman killed five Susquehannocks who were trying to negotiate peace with a colonial militia. The Maryland authorities ordered impeachment for Major Trueman (Archives of Maryland II:484-486). When two Piscataway men, Azazams and Manahawton were accused of murdering colonists in 1669, the authorities ordered them "shott to death without Delay" (Archives of Maryland XV:217-222).

In fact, the killings of "peaceful" Indians were often blamed on the victims themselves. The Articles of Peace and Amity with the Piscataway, originally signed in 1666 and reconfirmed in future meetings, mandated subservient behaviors for the Piscataway in the presence of English settlers (Archives of Maryland II:22,25-27). The Articles state that because the English could not easily recognize the differences between Indians, that all Indians within three hundred paces of an Englishman should throw down their weapons and call aloud. For chance meetings in the woods, Indians were also commanded to

throw down their arms. The English were not expected to do likewise. If the Indian refused, he would be deemed an enemy, thus justifying his murder by an Englishman. The English instituted racial homogenization without paying heed to differences in allies or enemies.

3.2 Conversion to Dependency: Piscataway Loss of Self-Governance

When Governor Calvert prohibited Jesuits at St. Mary's, Father White went to reside at the Piscataway "metropolis," Kittamaquund (Annual Letters of the Jesuits, [1639] 1987; Marye, 1935:197). At that time, the Piscataway and their affiliates maintained their autonomous identity integration mechanisms that are described in the previous chapter. Jesuit missionaries, as active sponsors of the fur trade, entered towns bearing gifts of bells, combs, fish hooks, and needles (Fausz, 1985:254; Cissna, 1986:139; Graham, 1935:8). Father Andrew White ushered in a fundamental shift in Piscataway society during his contact with the new Tayac, Kittamaquund (also known as Chitamaxon) in 1639. The relationship between the English and the Piscataway, portrayed through the two men as their representatives, set the stage for religious conversion and sovereignty loss. Conversion to Christianity was a basic strategy used to control the Piscataway. In a 1642 letter to Governor Calvert, Lord Baltimore states, "Me thinkes the Indians who are christened, if their conversion be reall, might be brought to assist in their labours" (Calvert Papers, 1987:22).

Kittamaquund succeeded his brother, Wannas, by murdering him in 1636 (Calvert Papers, 1987:19). Many Piscataways condemned his act of fratricide and referred to Wannas as their "last lawful king" (Merrel, 1979:550; Archives of Maryland III:402-403). In Merrel's interpretation, Kittamaquund's lack of popular support induced him to rely more heavily upon the English, thus accepting their policies. I observe the turn of events in the opposite way. That is, that Wannas' chilly reception and lack of cooperation with the English led to his demise. Kittamaquund had been coopted, and in the famous divide and conquer tradition, been encouraged to overthrow his brother. Rather than view the English as a threat to sovereignty in the beginning of colonization, Kittamaquund used their support to establish his rule.

Kittamaquund apparently developed a great affection for Father White, although in reality political strategy encouraged public flattery. He became more convinced of his choice to accept the Jesuit as the result of two dreams. They both conveyed White as the associate of a bright and brilliant god (Annual Letters of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 1910:125). At this point, I must comment that the power of the dream

and the vision for all members of the Piscataway, and indeed many indigenous societies, is very real to the people who have them. Also, indigenous religions have been observed to be quite open to adaptation, not as strictly tied to rigid dogma as those in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The association of whites with gods is part of the mythology of conquest that dates to the invasion of Mexico. Thus, this report should be taken with some skepticism, although there is no way to assess the accuracy of Kittamaquund's dream.

When Kittamaquund fell ill, Piscataway shamans failed to cure him. Father White succeeded in this endeavor. When he was restored to health, Kittamaquund resolved that he and his family would be initiated into Catholic rites (see Figure 3.1). The Jesuits eagerly complied as they believed that "when the family of the Emperor is purified by baptism, the conversion of the whole empire will speedily take place" (p.127). On July 5, 1640, Kittamaquund, his family, and his principle men were "regenerated in the baptismal font" (p. 131). Additionally, Kittamaquund and his wife were united in Catholic matrimony that afternoon.

They sent their seven year old daughter, Mary, and chosen successor to be educated at an English school in St. Mary's City. There, the little girl became proficient in English and Christian manners by 1642 (p. 135). She was taken to be the ward of the Mistress Margaret Brent. Mary Kittamaquund, as she was known, was wed in the tradition of Pocahontas, to Margaret's brother, Giles Brent. The English Marylanders believed that the marriage would legitimate their hegemony over indigenous societies under Piscataway influence. As in Virginia, the English underestimated the tenacity of indigenous traditions.

Shortly before his death in 1641, Kittamaquund gave English authorities the right to select his successors and thus established the Piscataway in a subordinate position (Archives of Maryland, II; Weslager, 1983:108). The Piscataway Council, however, resisted English rule, and their own choice of a successor, Weghucasso, was recognized by the English in 1644 (Cissna, 1986:144, MacLeod, 1926:305). He was succeeded by his brother, Uttapoingassenem, considered a "JanJan Wizous," a true king (Archives of Maryland II:403). The Piscataway now had to maneuver their own sovereignty vis-a-vis English recognition (Archives of Maryland, 1987:37). The colonial authorities reserved the right to approve leaders, although they generally agreed to Piscataway choices. The resistance to Kittamaquund's deal further demonstrates the singularity of his actions and attachments to the English. The Piscataway as a group needed to assert their political boundaries, no longer viewing the colonial authorities as amicable. Lines between the Piscataway and the English were exposed.

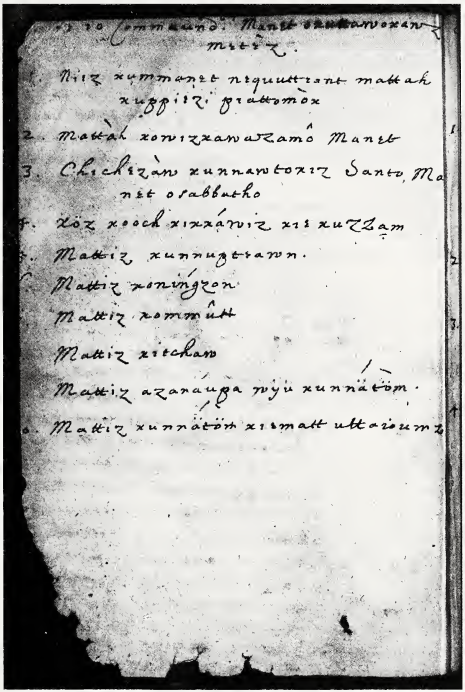

Figure 3.1. Father Andrew White's Ten Commandments in Piscataway (Georgetown University Archives).

The Piscataway continued to act as an autonomous entity, although their confederates joined them at various colonial councils. Catholicism proved not to be a binding mechanism between the peoples who, superficially at least, adopted it throughout Maryland. It was not a self-directed set of traditions. The Piscataway, in spite of their conversion, continued to practice aboriginal traditions. At a 1678 council with Governor Thomas Notley called to discuss murder charges against a Piscataway man, Wassetass, and Seneca attacks, only two representatives attended. The "Emperor" (tayac) Nicotaghsen and his speaker, Ouquintimo, along with several Chopticos explained that "most of their great men were very busie in gathering together their dead bones" for the Feast of the Dead (Archives of Maryland XVL183-185). The Piscataway in this example placed their own ceremonies over a conference with authorities.

Due to both population loss and the push away from a chief's daughter's son inheritance influenced by Christian patriarchal ideals, the succession of tayacs followed a direct father-son transmission. In 1634, the traditional succession proceeded as follows:

> When a Weroance [chief] dieth, his eldest sonne succeeds, and after him the second, and so the rest, each for their lives, and when all the sonnes are dead, then the sons of the Werowances eldest daughter shall succeede, and so if he have more daughters; for they hold that the issue of the daughters hath more of his blood in them than the issue of his sonnes. (Anonymous, 1910:84).

Their reigns were very short, several dying from epidemics within only several years of their installment. For example, Wannasapapin, son of Wannas, reigned from 1662 until his death in 1663. His successor, Nattawasso, son of Weghucasso and only eleven years old when his rule began, died by 1670 (MacLeod, 1926:306). With severe population declines, the selection pool greatly narrowed.

War and land invasion were compounded with epidemics, alcoholism and the defection of many young men to other nations. The ecological and economic balance of their society was disrupted by the fur trade which depleted the beaver and other fur-bearing animals. The tayac, Othomaquah, and his people removed themselves first to Virginia in the 1690s. The Piscataway's affiliates, particularly the Pamunkey and the Choptico, as well as the "common sort" of Piscataway chose to stay and negotiate with Maryland Governor Nicholson, although individuals may have accompanied the Piscataway polity in its exodus (Cissna, 1986:180; Marye, 1935; Semmes, 1937:491; Archives of Maryland XXIII:143-146; Archives of Maryland XIX:520-521; Archives of Maryland XXII:308, 390). English authorities, worried about the Piscataway developing indigenous alliances

that would attack Maryland tried to convince them to return. These pleas were ignored. The Piscataway had already gathered the bones of their dead who had not gone through secondary burial to take with them.

In 1697, the Piscataway came under the protection of their old enemies, the Seneca. The Tayac announced that the Piscataway and the Seneca "are now all one people" (Cissna, 1986:184). The Piscataway polity preferred to reside with former indigenous enemies and to rid themselves of a common threat - the Maryland English. They lived on Harrison Island in the Potomac and later proceeded up to Heater's Island (Tayac, 1988:4). At Heater's Island, they were reduced by a smallpox epidemic in 1704. The current Tayac died in that episode. Eventually, the Iroquois guided them toward towards the plurinational indigenous refugee settlements in Pennsylvania by 1711, where the Piscataway world would further merge with others (Marye, 1935:239; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1960:43; Kent, 1984). Coming under the influence of the Great Law of Peace, the Piscataway came to be known by their anglicized Iroquois name, the Conoy.

4. Learning to Speak with One Voice: The Piscataway Enter Pennsylvania

"Their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, begun to endeavor by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them genuine national spirit..."

— John Heckewelder, Moravian missionary accompanying Christian Frederick Post to Ohio in 1762 (Heckewelder, 1876:290)

"Brother, we alone cannot make peace; it would be of no significance; for as all Indians from sunrise to the sunset are united in a body, it is necessary that the whole should join in the peace, or it can be no peace."

— Shingas, King Beaver, and Delaware George to Christian Frederick Post, August 18, 1758 (Post, 1904:199)

"There is not a prouder, or more high minded people, in themselves, than the Indians...They say, that through their conjuring craft they can do what they please, and nothing can withstand them."

— Christian Frederick Post to British colonial authorities, September 19, 1758 (Post, 1904:230)

The Piscataway, dispossessed of their lands and autonomy in Maryland, learned of new possibilities for sovereignty in Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania, the Piscataway became known by their Iroquois designation, Conoy (Feest, 1978; Speck, 1922:11; Weslager, 1983:129). Conoy may come from the Iroquois "Kanawa," which means "the rapids" (Swanton, 1952:57; Tekarontake Paul Delaronde and Kakwirakeron Art Montour interviews). I speculate that the geographical reference as "rapids" would be illustrative of the Fall Line, where there is white water on the Potomac that signifies the boundary with the coastal plain that encompasses the Piscataway chiefdom range. I interchangeably refer to the Piscataway by their Conoy nomenclature throughout this chapter in order to connect them to the references made about them. A 1706 council between the Conoy, "then called the Piscataway about five years ago," and Governor Evans, with the Shawnee and Susquehannock Indians present, clarifies indigenous reasons for moving to Pennsylvania : "That we were also informed some of the Maryland Indians then among them had differed with the English there, and were afraid to return or come among the English of that Government" (Pennsylvania Colonial Records II, 1979:116). The Piscataway began to carry their identities with them, not just as an expression of original geographic location, but as a transportable set of kin relations.

The Susquehannock, former enemies, were called Conestoga. The relationship between the Conoy and the Conestoga changed as much as their names. Although an April 1701 peace treaty with William Penn designated a location on the Potomac River for the Conoy, they decided to settle among the Conestoga on the Susquehanna River (Pennsylvania Archives, 1979:102). In documents that record the contacts between the Conestoga, Conoy, and Shawnee inhabitants living in the area also known as Conestoga and Pennsylvania authorities, these separate peoples are often referred to collectively as the Conestogas as well.

4.1 Unification under the Great Law

The refugee nations most often selected a speaker to express their collective concerns. For example, in 1718, Conestoga leader Tagotolessa (known more often by his English name Civility), complained to the authorities about the destructive alcohol trade among the indigenous communities. The Conestoga, Shawnee, Conoy, and Delaware stated, "What...Civility says is what all agree in with one voice and mind" (Pennsylvania Colonial Records III:176). The following year, those peoples along with the Mingo considered a treaty with Pennsylvania. They again spoke through Civility and "all agreed to return one answer" (Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 1979:186). In 1723, Whiwhinjac, "King" of the Conoys, spoke on behalf of his own people as well as the Delaware and Shawnee. Whiwhinjac stated the indigenous desire to reaffirm their treaty made with William Penn and to reinforce their formal relationship with the Iroquois (Pennsylvania Colonial Records III:148).

Collective political actions were conducted through common traditions that uniquely bound the Conestoga refugees together. During the first several decades of the eighteenth century, protocols and traditions derived from the Iroquois Confederacy. Their presence and institution of protocol lends direct evidence for the influence of the Great Law on indigenous refugees who eventually developed their own codes for common identification. Throughout the sixty-year period in which indigenous refugees lived together in Pennsylvania, the Iroquois Confederacy held as much power over policy as the colonial administrations (Jennings, 1984; Weslager, 1983; Merrell, 1996; Pennsylvania Colonial Records II and III). The Iroquois, through the appointment of the Oneida diplomat, Shikellamy, administered indigenous refugees for Pennsylvania, and eventually negotiated contracts on their behalf. Pennsylvania benefitted from the arrangement by avoiding armed native resistance. Likewise, the Iroquois lessened their dependency upon New York and the French.

Indicative of the administrative and often paternalistic role that the Iroquois took over other peoples, Cannessoa spoke of settling the Conoy:

> That as he had Settled the Indians called (The Canawense) [Conoy] above the great Falls of Susquehannah So he was resolved to Maintain that Settlement in peace and Safety... (p. 136)

This type of protocol and transaction endured throughout the entire period that the refugee peoples were settled by the Iroquois for the colonial authorities in Pennsylvania. Political agreements consolidated through binding religious traditions, and thus, the power of the word stood firm.

William Penn, who founded Pennsylvania in 1681, established an unprecedented Indian policy based upon ideals of integration and aboriginal stewardship. He created no religious missions and dedicated himself to understanding the native cultures already existing upon the land which was chartered to him. To the Indian people within his jurisdiction he wrote, "I have great love and regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life" (Jennings, 1984:242).

Penn's intentions never came fully to fruition. He left the colony in 1699, and his administrative successor, James Logan, initiated policies that essentially mirrored those of other colonies (Jennings, 1984:248; Pennsylvania Colonial Records II and III). Logan set up relationships to benefit from Indian trade while arranging for indigenous land acquisitions. Lands designated for indigenous settlements was pilfered by whites who illegally contracted individual sales. Often such transactions were negotiated when the native individual was under the influence of alcohol. In order to gain larger tracts of land, Pennsylvania singled out individuals to act on behalf of a nation, even when the nation itself was not always consulted. For example, the Delaware leader, Sasoonan sold his people's lands between the Lehigh and Kittatinny Hills. The authorities, like those in Maryland the century before, did not adequately control white squatting. Their solution was always to re-settle the indigenous inhabitants further from "Christian Inhabitants," as exemplified by a decree from Governor Keith in 1722 (Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 1979:246).

The Iroquois maneuvered themselves to be the only legitimate actors for the sale of lands of the refugees. By 1736, they negotiated the sale of lands east of the Susquehanna River (Kent, 1979:410). Although it might seem that the Iroquois were solely to blame, one must recall the general colonial policy to centralize power on figures of their choosing

which could avoid the lengthy indigenous models of consensual decision-making. The most infamous case of unethical land grabbing was the Walking Purchase, in which the non-refugee Delaware were pushed out of their traditional lands on the Delaware River (Goddard, 1978:221; Sipe, 1932:137; Wallace, 1990:22). Disenchanted with Iroquois administration, the refugee peoples began to break away from them and to consolidate their own traditions.

Immigrants into Pennsylvania flooded indigenous territories and created a demographic shift unfavorable to the refugees. Jennings (1984:348) points to two significant immigrant groups that were illegally directed into Indian territories: the Scotch-Irish and the Moravians. First, in 1718, the Scotch-Irish moved into unpurchased Indian territory. That population were the descendants of the Scotts who occupied a Northern Ireland destroyed by Cromwell. They were familiar with invasion as a way of life, adhered to Calvinist principles, and believed in violent means to obtain their place in pre-destination.

Second, the Moravian missionaries also found themselves in Indian territory that was unpurchased. The Moravians had been persecuted in Europe. Rather than take the area by force, they paid the local people. Their effect on indigenous refugees, however, proved to be just as deleterious as the Scotch-Irish and the illegal traders. The Moravians presented a source of demographic assimilation pressure, draining an already threatened population into the mission system and preaching against indigenous lifeways. The Moravians preached to the Conoy at Conoytown (near present-day Bainbridge, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania) and Shamokin (Moravian Records, 1764). They traveled frequently to key locations in the Old Northwest, present day Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, and the main location of pan-Indian movements (Moravian Records, 1755). The missionaries treated the Conoy (noted variously as "Canai, Ganai, and Ganey") as a linguistic and cultural component of the Nanticoke (Moravian Records, 1753, 1766).

George Henry Loskiel (1794 III:19), a Moravian missionary, reports indigenous rage at the missionaries for dividing their communities:

> In the mean time enemies were not wanting, in different parts, who were more particularly enraged at the missionaries believing that they alone occasioned the Christian Indians to separate themselves from the rest forming as it were a detached tribe, who would not enter into the customs particular to the Indians and even endeavoring to make more profelytes... The Nanticokes of Zeninge were more particularly exasperated and threatened to kill Brother Schmick, because he had, according to their

> expression so many Indians in his arms, holding them fast, and endeavoring to grasp more, and thus rob them of their friends.

The reference to Nanticokes is particularly relevant here. By the 1740s, the Nanticokes and Piscataways were so closely aligned, that they were often erroneously grouped together as one people (Weslager, 1983:129; Pennsylvania Provincial Council, 1761). The two groups did maintain a distinct identity, shown by their ability to sign treaties as distinct peoples. The Nanticokes and Conoy, however, acted together in pan-Indian militant actions as they increasingly asserted supra-tribal collective identity at that time. The missions gained many converts during times of famine because they provided meals for natives who heeded the gospel. Particularly in times of difficulty, then, missions further dispersed peoples who were already disjointed from their original homelands.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the number of identified Piscataways continued to decline. Conrad Weiser reported twenty individuals attended the Treaty Conference at Easton in 1758 (American Philosophical Society). Sir William Johnson, British Indian agent, counted 198 Nanticokes and Piscataways out of 2,320 Indians attending a 1770 Council Fire meeting (Weslager, 1983:160). Captain Hendrick Aupaumet, an Indian Affairs agent for the new United States, estimated that 30 Piscataways ("Kaunauwaujeoos" or Conoys) would attend a treaty conference at Sandusky in 1793 (Pickering Papers). Piscataway oral history recounts that only about 25 people survived as a national unit by 1812 (Billy Tayac interview, Joseph Tayac interview). Clearly, the Piscataway population faced numerical and philosophical envelopment throughout the eighteenth century. The trend was similar to that of the previous century under Maryland colonial rule, yet throughout the eighteenth century, the Piscataway maintained their boundaries.

In the 1740s, conflicts between British colonies as well as tensions with the French intensified. Trade in Ohio was the major source of contention. Pennsylvania and Virginia traders fought over trade resource areas and indigenous partnerships. The French increased military efforts to block British encroachment (McConnell, 1996:279). The conflict, helping to fuel the imminent French and Indian War (the American theatre of the Seven Years War in Europe), brought increased levels of external resource support again to Pennsylvania Indians as parties coveted trading and military allies. Prior to that period, furs were never less than twenty percent of the Pennsylvania economy from 1717 to 1755, the onset of the French and Indian War (Jennings, 1984:266). Combined with missionary support, military and economic partnerships did alleviate the frequent hardship throughout the eighteenth century and did provide a relatively consistent resource base for indigenous refugees. The refugees had time to intellectually examine

their circumstances and create cultural practices applying to all residents, regardless of tribal origin.

After years of violence, land loss, forest destruction, and exploitation by traders, the Iroquois set up a new settlement for Piscataway and other refugees further up the Susquehanna at Shamokin by 1744 (now Sunbury, PA) (Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 1979:99). On behalf of the Piscataway, Canassatego, an Onondaga speaker, petitioned Governor George Thomas for compensation for lands that they had to abandon due to being "ill used by the white People.". The Governor merely agreed to look into the matter.

Shamokin was a strategic site for the Iroquois to block further white expansion. A nearby town, Wyoming was also Iroquois-administered and was a gateway to Onondaga, the center of the Iroquois Confederacy. Different peoples were guided to this area between 1727 and 1756. Weslager describes it as "a native metropolis" (1983:149). The Oneida leader, Shickellamy, became the "vice regent" at Shamokin, often representing the views of the different peoples living their to Pennsylvania (Sipe, 1932:129; Pennsylvania Colonial Records III:511). The Conoy, some Shawnee, and the Delaware converged with the Nanticoke, Tutelo, and Mahicans as well as groups of Iroquois confederates at Shamokin and Wyoming (Pennsylvania Colonial Records III; Weslager, 1983:129). All of these groups are often lumped together in the secondary literature as "Susquehannah Delaware." Not all of the peoples from Conestoga remained in Pennsylvania. The Shawnee became enraged by the Walking Purchase as well as the abuses of the English and Iroquois. One Shawnee contingent removed themselves to Ohio, and allied with the French.

As described already, trade exploitation, epidemics, illegal white settlement, alcohol-induced violence, and missionary assimilation threats persisted at Shamokin. By the full onset of the French and Indian War in 1755, Shamokin had been completely taken over by whites. A lynch mob, known as the Paxton Boys, massacred the remaining Conestoga population consisting of seven men, five women, and eight children, in 1763. Old Shehaes, one of the murdered Conestogas, had been present at the 1701 treaty with William Penn (Jennings, 1978:366). By that time, however, the majority of the indigenous Susquehanna River dwellers had migrated westward to the Ohio Country.

4.2 Fifty Years of Divine Inspiration: Pan-Indian Collective Action

Contemporary observers, especially missionaries preaching along the Susquehanna, took special note of a nativist spiritual revival among the refugee peoples in Pennsylvania beginning in the 1740s. The missionary David Brainerd, for example, became frustrated by the persistence of indigenous religious traditions, which he describes as expressed through feasts in honor of

> unknown beings, who, they suppose, speak to them in dreams; promising them success in hunting, and other affairs, in case they will sacrafice to them. They often times also offer their sacrafices to spirits of the dead; who they suppose, stand in need of favours from the living, and yet are in such a state as that they can well reward all the offices of kindness that are shewn them. And they impute all their calamities to the neglect of these sacrafices. Furthermore, they are much awed by those among themselves, who are called powwows, who are supposed to have a power of enchanting or poisoning them to death... (1822:178)

While Brainerd greatly simplifies Delaware spirituality, several points emphasize the similarity to pre-colonial traditions among the Piscataway. These include an attachment to deceased loved ones, the power of dreams, and the abilities of certain individuals to obtain a level of spiritual power superseding the majority (Billy Tayac interview, Mark Tayac interview). Spiritual activity constantly works to restore order between positive and negative forces. As the Piscataway were culturally descended from the Delaware, their "grandfathers," and cohabited with them in Pennsylvania for 40 years, they more than likely found resonance within the revitalized ceremonies.

Brainerd speaks further of a striking event during his trip to the Susquehanna settlements:

> Of all the sights I saw among them none appeared so frightful as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion. (Harrington, 1921:41)

The reformer on the Susquehanna was dressed in a complete bear skin and held a rattle. According to this description, the reformer personified Misinghalikun, a deity which presided over the hunt. He was a central figure in the Delaware Big House ceremony, an annual renewal tradition (Gilliland Papers). His face appeared on boulders and shell carvings among the Piscataway for centuries in Maryland. Misinghalikun, a familiar

figure to the Piscataway, ushered them into an era where they could make a stand for their ethnic integrity. Specific elements derived from pre-colonial times contributed to the common traditions that brought the different peoples together.

In 1748, David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary preaching along the Susquehanna, reported "Indian preachers" who had traveled to heaven and conversed with God (Bliss, 1885:xii; Harrington, 1921:57). He describes their charts and deerskin maps of the Spirit World which were vehicles for their ideology. Zeisberger observes,

> They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits. (Harrington, 1921:57)

Accounts of individual reformers and prophets pervade the second half of the eighteenth century.

A young Delaware woman at Wyoming conveyed a message from "the Great Power that they should destroy the poison from among them" which was held by "their old and principal men" (Dowd, 1992:30). The men to whom she referred were increasingly viewed as collaborators with colonial authorities and their agents.

The French had been threatening to invade Pennsylvania's borders from 1742. Among peoples further north and west, they had set up strong trade relationships. By 1753, the French invaded the Ohio country. The indigenous councils at Logstown protested these incursions. Pennsylvania promised them assistance, but never delivered. In 1754, the French and Indian War broke out, which would become an extension of the Seven Years War fought between on European soil between 1756 and 1763 (Tanner, 1986:10). Daniel, a Delaware who traveled with Shingas, expressed his anger to the British Indian agent, George Croghan, at the use of his people by the Europeans for their war:

> Damn you, Why do not you and the French fight on the sea? You come here only to cheat the poor Indians and take their land from them. (Sipe, 1921:297)

At first, Shamokin and Wyoming remained neutral. The Iroquois were demanding that "their cousins the Delaware to lay aside their petticoats and clap on nothing but a Breech Clout" (Wallace, 1990:69).

Fearing French attacks, Shamokin and Wyoming requested assistance from Pennsylvania. Ironically, not only did the English not send aid, but also suspected them of collaborating with the French. Shamokin and Wyoming then joined their relatives who had already allied with the French by November 1755. Many crossed into the Ohio country, probably following the Kittaning Trail across the Tuscarora Mountains and the Juniata River (Weiser, 1822:21). Certain bands of Nanticoke, Conoy, and Mahican had been drifting north and became more entrenched as part of the Iroquois who the vast majority of their people now fought against. As King Hendrick of the Mohawk stated, "We are divided amongst Ourselves and...some of every Tribe is for the French and some for the English" (Kent, 1979:380). The Conoy and Nanticoke who blended in as a clan of the Iroquois did independently sign agreements for another decade, but then became absorbed into one of the initial Five Nations, the Cayuga. They did not maintain a separate polity as a full nation.

Much of the initial fighting centered around an English fort that the French captured and renamed Fort Duquesne. Oral history notes Piscataway (Conoy) participation in these battles (Tayac, 1988:7). This narrative is confirmed since they were residents of Shamokin which had gone over to the French side. People affiliated with Shingas participated in brutal raids along the Pennsylvania frontier. These lead the chief to be called "Shingas the Terrible" by the English.

Pennsylvania implemented a structure for committing atrocities against the Delaware and their affiliates, whatever their political leanings may have been. In 1756, Pennsylvania declared war on the Delaware and advertised a bounty for scalps of women, children, and men (Sipe, 1921:249). General Amherst of the English intentionally spread smallpox among "friendly" Indians living at Fort Pitt (Weslager, 1978:20). A cycle of violence consisted of attacks and retaliation and persisted for decades. White Pennsylvanians attacked Indians regardless of their expressed political affiliations. A final breakage was made from William Penn's ideals. The indigenous parties found that they could only rely upon themselves, and so catalyzed a specific set of doctrines that applied to their constituents. Indigenous prophets such as Papoonan and Wangomend urged a return to ancient ways.

Through negotiations with George Croghan, an English agent, at Fort Duquesne and with Teedyuscung at Easton, Pennsylvania, the Delaware and their affiliates slowly made peace with the English between 1756 and 1762 (Thwaites, 1904; Weslager, 1989:233). By 1758, the English had captured Fort Duquesne and renamed it Fort Pitt, which later became Pittsburgh (Peckham, 1960:41). The French were defeated by 1760. Beaver

replaced Shingas as chief of the Delaware (Weslager, 1989:233). The peace made with the Ohio allies in 1762 would last only for a year.

The Conoy, throughout the consolidation with other indigenous activist peoples, kept a concern and communication with their relatives left behind more than seventy years before in Maryland. Along with the Nanticoke, they expressed a plea to retrieve their relatives left in Maryland. The plea was not made by these two parties alone, but as a formal request from the Seven Nations of Canada. The speaker, Takahaio addressed the Pennsylvania governor:

> Brother Onas: We the Seven Nations, especially the Nanticokes and Conoys speak to you. About seven Years ago, we went down to Maryland, with a Belt of Wampum, to fetch our Flesh and Blood, which we showed to some Englishmen there, who told us they did not understand Belts, but if we had brought an order in writing from the Governor of Pennsylvania, they would let our Flesh and Blood then come away with us; but as this was not done, they would not let them come; Now we desire youwould give us an order for that purpose (Pennsylvania Provincial Council VIII:651).

The request was denied, but repeated again in 1776 (Porter, 1987:52). Unlike other colonies, Maryland had desisted from engaging in Indian-directed negotiations. The request illustrates that specific tribal interests no longer were handled by the concerned parties alone. Different groups had unified for mutual self-defense and the common good.

Many of the indigenous fissures which were cemented by the French and Indian War remained. Some of the Conoy, Nanticoke, and Mahican proceeded further north and eventually became fully incorporated by the Iroquois. Today, some Nanticoke and Conoy descendents identify themselves as the Wolf Clan of the Cayuga at Six Nations Reserve in Canada (Speck, 1932; Chief Jacob Thomas interview). The incorporation was described by Cayuga Chief, James Monture, in 1885:

> Nanticokes were admitted in the Confederacy 'like brace supporting up a House from outside.' It means, They are not permitted to speak or to take part in the Confederate Council. And all Four above mentioned nations [Tuscarora, Delaware, Tutelo, Nanticoke] were in a destitute condition when they were sheltered under the spreading branches of the 'Tree of Great Peace.'" (Hewitt Papers)

As stated, the Conoy and Nanticoke amalgamated into one group under Iroquois administration.

The Conoy who migrated west became so closely aligned with the Delaware, that most of their subsequent locations must be tracked as those of the Delaware. The Conoy did maintain their own village hamlets and chiefs, so that a historical trace can be made. From the beginning of the French and Indian War, different groups from the Susquehanna settlements filtered into the Ohio country, which came to be known as part of the Old Northwest. The Delaware arranged with the Huron and Wyandot to settle in their territories of eastern Ohio. In 1758, the Turkey division of the Delaware, to which Shingas belonged, settled at Tuscarawastown or Beaver's Town (Bolivar, OH). Other Delawares moved to Cuyahoga Town (Akron, OH). Delawares are also recorded at Mahican John's Town, two miles south of present Jeromesville in 1760.

From these locations, the Delaware and their affiliates interacted with many different peoples including the Seven Nations of Canada (bands of Algonquin, Nippissing, Caughnawaga Mohawk, St. Francis Abenaki, Huron, Cayuga, and Onondaga) as well as the Miami, Mingos, Kickapoo, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Shawnee, and Allegheny Iroquois (Interviews with Tekarontake Paul Delaronde and Kakwirakeron Art Montour; Peckham, 1960:55; Tanner, 1986:46). The fact that the Seven Nations advocated for the Nanticoke and Conoy as their constituents further confirms their movements along with the Delaware. All of these peoples acted as a confederacy in alliance with the French against the English. They also adhered to the resistance ideologies espoused by various prophets. The prophets advocated for a "Red State," governed by indigenous peoples regardless of tribal lines.

The English, who now held supremacy over the region, promised that they would restore disrupted trade and had no intentions of taking native lands. The indigenous confederates found that, in spite of these promises, British policy was much different than that of the French. The British did not give ammunition for hunting and cut back on customary gifts given in diplomatic transactions. They allowed white settlers to overrun native territory, allotted Seneca lands to officers as rewards, and overtly expressed racism towards Native Americans. The Seneca were already sending a war belt, a symbol of a call to arms, by 1761 throughout the region to enlist support to launch a new military campaign against the British (Peckham, 1960; Tanner, 1986, Weslager, 1978). They called for their expulsion because of the deleterious effects presented by British hegemony in the region.

The same year that the Seneca began their pleas for renewed action, Neolin, the Delaware Prophet, was gaining a large following. Neolin, whose name meant "the Enlightened," had received instructions through visions from Keesh-she-la-mil-lang-up, "a being that thought us into being" (Peckham, 1960:98; Wallace, 1956:9). Much like his predecessors from the Susquehanna region, Neolin preached a return to ancient ways through purification, prohibition of in-fighting, abandonment of European technology, and abstinence from alcohol (Dowd, 1992; Peckham, 1960; Hunter, 1971). Neolin's message spread among the different peoples of the region, who readily adopted it. Following these sacred instructions was no easy task for peoples who had incorporated trade goods into their daily lives for almost two hundred years. Neolin did encourage gradual change, offering a timetable of seven years to implement the vision.

In Piscataway religious traditions, dreams are central components of expression and responsible action. Mark Tayac explains the relationship of the dream to the dreamer: "First you have the dream, then you perform the ceremony, and finally, you have the responsibility" (interview, 1995). Rituals confirm the values underlying the visions and dreams. Ceremonial conduct sometimes takes place with a commitment of years. Often, personally intense physical prescriptions for such traditions can take place over a cycle of four years or more. After the ritual cycle is complete, then the participant begins their accountability to pursue the protective actions embedded in the religious narratives. Depending upon circumstances, the format for dream realization can either be carried out alone, as in a vision quest, or as part of a group, as in Green Corn. The pattern of action sets the values into motion, adhering the individual to vows that enhance political action. For example, if the values state that a certain location is the site of Mother Earth's arteries, then a development project that would physically destroy it would call for a direct spiritual mandate to stop the invasive act. In enacting dreams or visions, there would be components that personally transform the individual to become an enactor of a spirit associated with a location or moral (or both). The dream may have been had by someone else, and a ceremony would be developed for other people to incorporate its meaning. In the case of Neolin's visions, whole peoples took on the ritual enactment of his dream, intimately and personally tying themselves to its messages. When their enactments were completed, they then had the practical responsibilities to live its teachings on a daily basis. Their identities expanded to add the prophet's visions to their own actions.

Pontiac, an Ottawa leader, acted upon Neolin's vision and the Seneca appeal. On April 27, 1763, Pontiac called a general council of peoples who became known as the Western Confederacy to organize against the British. King Beaver, Shingas' successor and brother, would become a "ring-leader" of Pontiac's Conspiracy. At the council meeting,

Pontiac recited Neolin's account of the journey to the spirit world. He emphasized the moral imperatives of the narrative, and focussed especially on the call to expel the whites. Pontiac, however, changed the narrative to fit a concrete political reality. Instead of casting out all Europeans, the Western Confederacy would direct its efforts against the British, and use the French to support their endeavor.

Pontiac's Conspiracy suffered early on when an informant leaked the Western Confederacy's plans of poisoning the British water supply (Peckham, 1960:113). After two years, the Western Confederacy was suffering from military defeats and germ warfare perpetrated by British officers who intentionally disseminated smallpox infested blankets. In 1765, they were forced to submit to Henry Bouquet's forces. The British Indian agent, William Johnson, helped to establish a boundary line between Indian country and white settlements. At a council near Rome, New York, in 1768, the Iroquois, Nanticoke, Conoy, Tutelo, Saponi, Seven Nations of Canada, Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo signed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix to establish such demarcation (Tanner, 1986:57). Although their nativistic beliefs and practices prevailed, a new era of factionalism ensued (Dowd, 1992:36).

Throughout the American Revolution, a huge pan-Indian confederation allied with the British against the Americans, who were correctly perceived as land-hungry expansionists, extended from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. This alliance bound together former enemies such as the Chickamauga Cherokees, Creeks, and the confederacies of the Old Northwest (Dowd, 1992). In spite of the massive participation of this indigenous confederation, when peace was made between the British and the Americans, they were completely ignored in the Treaty of Paris. This 1783 treaty marked the American western boundary at the Mississippi River (Horsman, 1967:4). For the remainder of the century, structural opportunities narrowed as British support waned. Eleven years after 1783, the Piscataway would withdrawal of the Piscataway after a crushing military defeat.

Violent confrontations over the 1768 boundary line known as the Forest Wars raged along the frontier for several decades. The confederated nations never had ceded their lands west of the line, yet the British had given control of the region to the Americans without consulting them. At the same time, the British strategized that they would try to regain control of the area in the future, and assured the confederation that they had not lost stewardship. The indigenous confederates negotiated and finally used physical force to keep the line from moving (American State Papers, 1832). The outside resources from the British gave the means to act, but the confederates motivated their actions along the line of defending their country.

Many of the participants in the Western Confederacy moved to an area known as The Glaize, which became the headquarters for native militancy against United States hegemony in the 1790s. The site, an old buffalo wallow on the Maumee River at the Auglaize River (Defiance, OH), had similar features to the international settlements at Shamokin and Wyoming. The Glaize was composed of a number of towns which had a combined population of approximately 2,000 people. Indigenous confederates were not the only residents of the area. European traders also had a town within this complex, and cohabited peacefully with their native neighbors. A number of black workers also lived in the trader's town. As was characteristic of frontier society, the boundaries between peoples were not always fixed. The French and British traders often had native wives and families. Native families sometimes adopted white captives, and raised them with an indigenous identity (Tanner, 1978). As Penney explains, "those sharing a frontier look back and forth at one another" (1992:19).

The center of military organization was at the town of Blue Jacket, the Shawnee leader. There were two other Shawnee towns, Snake's Town and Captain Johnny's Town, which hosted small settlements of Nanticokes and Chickamauga Cherokees. Living within the Shawnee towns were groups of Mohawks, Cayugas, and Senecas, known collectively as Mingos. Across the Auglaize, about eight miles upriver, there was a Delaware town headed by the war captain Buckongahelas and the civil leader Big Cat. The Conoy had a small village attached to that town. There were also Miami villages where Little Turtle, another leader of the Northwest Indian Confederacy, lived. (Pickering Papers, Aupaumut, 1826). Almost one hundred years after leaving their home territory, the Piscataway/Conoy retained their separate chieftainship and ethnicity.

Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, a Mohegan Indian and United States Indian agent, visited the Glaize in 1791. He reported the difficulties of survival, as expressed by an English trader with whom he conversed: "This unhappy war ruins them (the Indians)...the Indians could not hunt much, and if the army come again then we shall be undone" (1826:98). He spoke with the pan-Indian confederates, trying to get them to accept United States boundaries. He found that he was foiled in part by the great Mohawk leader, Tyendinaga Joseph Brant, a British loyalist and founder of the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario (Pickering Papers). Aupaumut makes specific reference to the Conoy, to whom he passed a United States. The Conoy, along with their compatriots, rejected its mandate to abolish the Ohio River as the line for Indian Territory.

From the Glaize settlements, the Northwest Confederacy successfully defeated the United States forces under Josiah Harmar in 1790 and again under Arthur St. Clair in 1791. The

defeat of St. Clair has been recorded as the "most lethal battle for U.S. soldiers fighting American Indians" (Dowd, 1992:106). Out of 1,400 U.S. soldiers, 630 were killed and 500 were wounded. On the confederacy side, only 20 were killed. The Northwest Indian Confederacy would hold off the United States and thus the moving of the boundary between Indian country and white settlers for several more years.

The confederacy at The Glaize had formalized its alliance at a council in 1792. The Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, Chippewa, Ottawa, Huron, Munsee, Conoy, Mahican, Potawatomie, Cherokee, Creek, Sac, Raynard, and Mingo smoked a sacred pipe to confirm their alliance. There, the confederates considered themselves to be "animated by one Mind, one Head, one Heart," in their efforts at "war with the American States, as long as any of them should live" (p. 104). The confederacy sought spiritual guidance from a nativist Mohawk woman, Coocoochee, who lived in a lone cabin at The Glaize. She presided over annual ceremonies such as the Feast of the Dead and the Green Corn Ceremony. She drew in sacred power for those who were preparing for war. Richard Justice, a Chickamauga "conjurer" also called upon the spirit world for protection.

In 1793, commissioners of the United States delivered a letter to "the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nations assembled at the Fort of the Miami Rapids," including the Conoy. They wrote: "Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negociation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret that Peace is not the Result" [sic](Pickering Papers). The Indian nations were not simply instruments of British control. Rather, they used British resources to hold on to dwindling territories. The confederated nations, throughout the colonial period, had maintained locations of retreat, where they could direct their actions in a self-determined manner. After over 250 years maintaining integrity, the actions of the United States dismantled the peoples from the East by the end of the War of 1812.

The Northwest Indian Confederacy was not able to hold off the United States forever. In August 1794, "Mad" Anthony Wayne led 3,000 American soldiers against 1,300 warriors of the confederacy. The confederacy was aware of Wayne's advancements, and according to Piscataway oral tradition chose a battle site among trees that had been destroyed in a storm. They believed that the power of the storm was present in the trees and would aid them in victory (Billy Tayac interview). The Shawnee held a similar view. Cyclone Person, a creation of Our Grandmother, was a spirit who pulled down trees by entangling them in her hair (Howard, 1981:173). Thunderbirds, considered to be the guardians of the gates of the Creator's house, caused thunder by the flapping of their wings. Although they were capable of destruction, they were generally considered to be a good and purifying force.

Storm power - especially wind, that the Iroquois call "wasase," establishes the fighting spirit for warriors to protect the nations. The war dance, a component of the wasase ceremony, prepares warriors by bolstering the power of the mind as a liberating force. The Iroquois say that they learned this ceremony from the Sioux "a long time ago" (Personal communications with Tekarontake Paul Delaronde, Kakwirakeron Art Montour, Frank Notawe, Kahente Horn-Miller). Thunder, a male spiritual force, complements the growing of corn, a female force. Destruction, purification, and renewal are all part of the same cycle, necessary for each to exist. Thunderbirds, as patrons of war, carried on an unending battle with the Great Horned Snakes. The Thunderbirds, protectors of the Creator, can be seen carved on prayer sticks at the head of the pantheon among prophetic pan-Indianists (see Penney, 1992). In Piscataway traditions, the life renewal ceremonies are practiced when the "thunder and lightening are their strongest" meaning in August, also the traditional time of Green Corn (Mark Tayac interview, Turkey Tayac interviews with Kelly Giorgio).

The Great Horned Snakes were often associated with Europeans as they resided in deep pools. Europeans and Americans, perceived as emerging from the ocean, were sometimes described as being the spawn of the Great Horned Snake. Great storms were interpreted as the battles between these opposing cosmic forces. At Fallen Timbers, the storm's power would not be sufficient for the confederacy. Wayne defeated the Northwest Indian Confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers and burned their homes and fields.

The confederates were left destitute and became dependent on the United States for food. Over the next year, the United States Army attacked and burned indigenous settlements in the area. Survival in the area became untenable, and many confederates either returned home or moved farther into Indian Country (personal communication with Michael Pratt, Director, Fallen Timbers Project, March 1997). The refugees lost their roles as allies and trading partners under United States hegemony, and white settlers flooded the Old Northwest. The next summer, over 1,000 Indians signed the Treaty of Greenville which moved the boundary line to northwestern Ohio, institutionalized the federal annuity system with tribes, and marked the beginning of an official assimilation policy. Some peoples did not sign the treaty, including Tecumseh, who would become one of the most famous native leaders in history during the War of 1812 (Sugden, 1998; Gilbert, 1989; Eckert, 1992).

The Conoy were among those who did not sign the treaty - many peoples apparently left the region to either return home or to migrate further west before the treaty council took

place. Piscataway oral history tells that about twenty-five people, including the Tayac and his great men, returned to Southern Maryland shortly before the War of 1812. On their journey back to the south, people had dropped out along the way to settle and find wage-labor. The Piscataway say crossed the Potomac River from Virginia into Maryland's Pope's Creek, and found themselves in a society pervaded by slavery and rural share-cropping.

5. The Piscataway Dark Days: 1812 - 1900

Contemporary Piscataway refer to the nineteenth century as the "dark days." After more than two hundred years of maintaining a bounded tribal structure, and finding ways to assert group autonomy, the place that they entered after military defeat proved to be the most repressive and decimating in Piscataway history. Maryland, a slave state, had demolished reservation demarcations one hundred years before. The remaining indigenous families scattered onto local farms, and found most of their cohesion in an assimilated atmosphere in the Catholic church. The returnees from Fallen Timbers had interest in re-organizing the tribal polity, but found the remnant peoples unwilling, probably due to the terror induced among the non-white population of Maryland. Maryland was a slave state until 1861.

The broader context is important to consider in understanding the situation that the Piscataway - as well as many other native communities throughout the east - found themselves in through the nineteenth century. A key factor in inhibiting formal tribal reorganization was the threat of removal that pervaded the country. President Andrew Jackson's policies not only effected the physical removal of thousands of tribal peoples, but also induced hiding among others who remained. The Catholic Church in Maryland, in fact, was an important ally to the Piscataway families in protecting them from this threat. The priests at St. Ignatius (on the site where Father White had baptized Kittamaquund) identified them with the code "M" on all church records to help surviving Piscataway families avoid persecution. The church, however, also was an inhibitor for cultural survival. As Catholics, the Piscataway were unable to maintain a separate religious institution, although they did sit in their own pews at the back of the church with other remnant Indians, mixed-bloods, and light-skinned free blacks. The church was also the location of removing indigenous names, and giving "Christian" names. A few Piscataways kept both names in daily usage throughout the nineteenth century such as Herb Doctor, Old Fox, Segoye Seepee, Chitom Tayac, Janjan Seepee, Wahacasso, and Woosah Tayac.

Grace Faircloud Proctor Marsh (Figure 5.1) wrote a letter in 1979 about how names were changed:

Figure 5.1. Grace Faircloud Proctor Marsh in the 1950s.

> Al Wahacasso Proctor Marsh [born 1872] told me when I was a very small child that there were 2 families from which the chief's or "Emperors" were chosen and that we were descendants of 1 of them, "Wahacasso"... due to the Piscataways becoming Catholics, [they] were changed into English names by the late 17s, where the Piscataways left Maryland there were many and records were not kept...When we get to the 18 hundreds, we come to all English names.

Turkey Tayac (Figure 5.2) spoke to a Baltimore Sun reporter in 1978 about why he felt obligated to use his Piscataway name:

> I'm a Piscataway. There are not many left. Practically all have lost their identity. But some knowledge was handed down by word of mouth and is just in me. I sat around fires as a boy and listened and must have had right good remembering.

The Piscataway families dispersed for economic reasons as laborers on white farms throughout Prince Georges and Charles Counties. They did not live together in a village, but rather in proximate locations throughout these counties, as shown on census reports (U.S. Census 1850-1900). The Piscataway did maintain some community continuity, as shown by rather high levels of endogamy (Tayac, 1999). Overall, however, the Piscataway suffered an attrition of ethnic consciousness, with the majority of blood descendents not maintaining a distinctive indigenous identity. This pattern of assimilation can be found commonly throughout the eastern seaboard.

Figure 5.2. Turkey Tayac wearing his typical eel skin wrap and resting on top of the ancient ossuary at Moyaone, his eventual burial site, 1976.

A few families did keep cultural traditions and language knowledge through this time period. Old medicinal practices were passed on, as was knowledge of the huskanaw, Green Corn, Feast of the Dead, Mid-winter Festival, and Spring ceremonies. There was also clan memory in the Tayac family, which still identifies itself as the Beaver Clan as well as continuos reference to national symbols including the wild turkey (used as a signature by the Conoy in the previous century) and the red cedar tree. Sweats, menstrual huts, and red cedar smoke inhalations also continued through the century, but then fell into disuse by the turn of the twentieth century. Houses were still constructed to face the south. Some knowledge of the huskanaw was passed along through families, and boys were removed for periods of time then painted with clay on the high banks of the Potomac. The families also kept in touch with each other on the basis of their common identity. These families viewed Moyaone, the ancient village site, as holy ground and visited the location. They quietly practiced surviving spiritual traditions there over time.

Turkey Tayac, born in 1895, talked about how the Green Corn was eventually taken over by the Catholic Church as the Feast of the Assumption, and then dwindled:

> It's dying down now. I still do it, even if it ain't nobody but myself...They tell me way back before that, way back in the very beginnin,' there was thousands [of people]. But they was only Indians. They [the church] adopted that, they kept it going...Yes, I still have it,

> believe in it. If I didn't have it, I'd feel in my own heart, I hadn't done what was right.

This statement was recorded in 1974 by Kelly Giorgio, a doctoral student in Anthropology at George Washington University, just on the eve of Piscataway cultural revitalization.

The families identified externally by Smithsonian (BAE) scholars and church documents as Piscataway Indians include the two unrelated Proctor families (one of which kept a dual Indian name as Tayac), two unrelated Thompson families, and the Swanns of Pope's Creek (see Mooney Papers; Reynolds, 1889; St. Ignatius Church records). The Collins family also were the oral transmitters of the Piscataway language, which was spoken in the household to some extent up to about 1915, and medicinal practices. Because names were obtained through church sponsorships, common surnames do not necessarily imply blood relationships. By the 1920s, there were less than twenty people who ethnically identified overtly as Piscataway Indians. While the surviving families had oral traditions, the concrete traditional cultural practices were maintained by a single man, Turkey Tayac by that time.

6. Piscataway Resurrection: 1974 to Present

The Nineteenth century has been recorded as the most repressive for Native Americans across the United States. At its end, 95% of Indian lands were taken over. The general population reached an all time low of 250,000 on the 1900 census. But many of the peoples survived, including the Piscataway (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Ethnic Piscataway population estimates over time.

Period	Population
Aboriginal (< 1608)	8,000
Colonial (ca. 1680)	320
Migration (ca. 1760 → 1794)	150 → 25
Submergence (1812→ 1860)	(25-96) → < 20
Revitalization (1975 → present)	97 → 120

Emerging out of the repressive nineteenth century, Piscataway individuals participated in pan-Indian activities but were unable to fully reorganize their home community until the 1970s. Turkey Tayac travelled with Smithsonian scholars including J.P. Harrington, T. Dale Stewart, Frank Speck, and William H. Gilbert. In particular, he was involved in the reorganization of the Second Powhatan Confederation in Virginia and the Nanticoke Indian Association in Delaware in the 1920s, as well as with the Lumbee fight against the KKK in the 1950s. Al Wahacasso Proctor Marsh (Figure 6.1) and his daughter, Grace, campaigned for an Indian vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and involved themselves in Indian clubs based in New York City (see Tayac, 1999). Numerous remaining identified Piscataways dispersed throughout the country, for jobs and military service (Figure 6.2). But, not until the advent of the American Indian Movement would the Piscataway, as a collective group, assert itself again as a formally organized community.

Figure 6.1. Al Wahacasso Proctor Marsh extending pipe to man in suit at a gathering of expatriate Piscataways on Long Island, 1928.

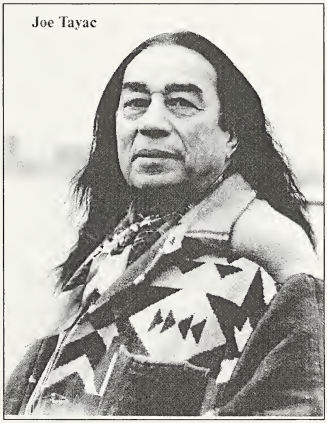

Figure 6.2. Joseph Tayac, a Piscataway residing in New York, left home at age 16 in 1944 and joined the Merchant Marines. Over his forty-year career, Joseph made over one hundred international sea voyages as a ship's navigator.

Before the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties caravans arrived in Washington D.C., an advance party arrived to set up an AIM office and to arrange logistical needs.Two members of this advance group were George Mitchell, an AIM founder, and Gene Skenadore, a young Oneida from Wisconsin (Billy Tayac interview). A serendipitous meeting between Skenadore and a Piscataway salesman, Turkey Tayac's son Billy, catalyzed the momentous changes to come for the practically disappeared community.

Following the first encounter, Billy began to attend talks and lectures given by the AIM organizers. He remarks that hearing the words were like listening to what was inside of his heart all of his life. Billy also developed an insatiable appetite for AIM activism, saying "It was like being in love. The more you get, the more you want." Quickly, he became a coordinator along with Mitchell and Skenadore for the logistics of the Trail. They made arrangements at Fort Meyers for the caravans, but these arrangements were cancelled two days before the Trail arrived. Instead, organizers looked to churches to house the Trail caravans.

When the caravans arrived, they proceeded to the hastily arranged housing. In one of the churches, where the basement served for housing the Trail, people were inundated by rats. They then turned to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for assistance. When Trail participants found dissatisfactory reception by the BIA, an instantaneous decision was made to take over the building. One thousand Indians occupied the BIA on November 2, 1972, and renamed it the Native American Embassy (Smith and Warrior, 1996:155, Nagel, 1996:168; Cornell, 1988:194; Means, 1995:228; Viola, 1990). The BIA occupation lasted one week, and Billy was inside through the week. There, relationships with AIM leadership and caravan participants cemented a new era of pan-Indian activism leading to identity for the Piscataway.

Following the BIA occupation, Billy heightened value of his father Turkey's traditional knowledge and the travels into Indian community that they had embarked upon throughout his childhood (Figure 6.3). Like Indians around the country, the older tradition keepers gained a new status as resources rather than as obstacles to modernity. In the metropolitan Washington area, younger displaced Indians from various tribes began to seek out Turkey. Avery Lewis Windrider, an Arizona Pima residing in Washington, for example, brought Turkey into education programs focussing on native culture (Wentzel, 1975). Other elder Piscataways were newly sought out including the Swann, the Proctors (married into the indigenous Linkins and Harley families), and Grace Faircloud, to give context to a specific tribal history that mirrored stories of oppression around the country (Grace Faircloud, Theodore Swann, Pearl Swann, Cecelia Harley, Ravenell Harley, Billy Tayac interviews).

Billy, who reclaimed his father's Piscataway Tayac surname after 1972, participated intensively in AIM events both in Washington and on a national level. A vision for a new AIM project, "Resurrection of Indians in the East," was informed by the spiritual leader, Philip Deere, events at the 1973 Wounded Knee Takeover, and land reclamation efforts among the Mohawk in Ganienkeh (Kakwirakeron letter to Billy Tayac, February 9,1979; Kakwirakeron, Jay Mason, and Louis Karoniaktahjeh Hall personal communications). Philip Deere, Muskogee Creek spiritual leader, supported the Piscataway reorganization (statement January 29, 1979). Billy Tayac, designated director of the AIM Resurrection project, first began community organizing among remnant peoples and local tribes in Virginia (Doeg and Powhatan), New Jersey (Nanticoke), North Carolina (Lumbee and Haliwa-Saponi), and South Carolina (Pee Dee) before he came full circle into the Piscataway homeland in 1974.

Figure 6.3. Chief Billy Redwing Tayac at Moyaone holding the "old bonnet," belonging to his father and predecessor, Turkey, adorned with eel skin and "William Penn" beads, 1996.

Blending the AIM experience and the surviving tribal culture, the formal chartering of the Piscataway took place in 1974 through incorporation papers filed by Billy Tayac, Turkey Tayac, and Avery Wind Rider (State of Maryland, Department of Assessments and Taxation, June 25, 1974; Scarupa, 1976; Gay, 1974; Ben Johnson, 1974; Leet, 1975). Reflecting the identification with the broader historical struggle, the Piscataway-Conoy Indians, Inc. chose to file its charter on June 25, anniversary of the Battle of Little Bighorn when allied Plains tribes defeated General George Armstrong Custer in 1876 (Nies, 1997:283; Scarupa, 1976). After setting up the tribal organization, the activists set about the task of finding the people with hereditary connections to indigenous peoples of Maryland. Billy Tayac stated two days after establishing the charter: "This should serve as a drawing cord for submerged Indian descendants in the state. All of this is part of a national trend. What we're after is a return to Indianism" (Johnson, 1974; Gay, 1974).

The three tribal organizers also pursued numbers, perceived in that time period of popular movements as the key to gaining political power. Consequently, persons of "Indian blood" in Maryland in addition to those with specific Piscataway ties were sought out by the activist group. Billy and Avery knocked on doors in areas of Southern Maryland where people with Indian ancestry, known as the Wesort or Brandywine people, were reported to live, but found no one who claimed an Indian identity. Finally, they asked Father John Brady, pastor of St. Joseph's Catholic Church to make announcement from the pulpit asking for anyone of Indian ancestry to attend a meeting (Affidavit of Fr. John Brady, 1995).

At the first meetings, several people, children of Piscataway individuals with whom Turkey had tried to mobilize for an Indian school in the 1930s came forward at St. Joseph's. The Swann, Harley, Proctor, and Faircloud families all participated in the Piscataway resurrection. From there, interest swelled among both Piscataways and Brandywines ("Wesorts) in reclaiming indigenous culture. In 1975, the Piscataway-Conoy held an event attracting 1,100 Indians from different nations. By 1976, the Piscataway-Conoy Indians, Incorporated had 800 organizational members from various Indian tribes as well as a category for non-Indian members. The Piscataway tribe was embedded into the Piscataway-Conoy, Inc, the larger inter-tribal social service organization. Of these, Turkey Tayac only recognized 97 as being members of the tribe, but pan-Indian inclusion was not seen as a problem for tribal boundaries at the time. Moreover, with funding coming from the United Way and the Catholic Church for the construction of the Piscataway-Conoy Indian Center, exclusion of participants based on ethnicity in the "De-Angloization" program was not viable according to funding guidelines (Bernstein, 1975; Scarupa, 1976). Echoing the nineteenth century constraints

on Indian identity, the Piscataway stated, "We were tired of being classified as Ôother'" (Bernstein, 1975).

Keeping within the framework of AIM's agenda, land rights, religious freedom, cultural education, and treaty agreements the Piscataway focussed attention on reclaiming Moyaone, site of the historic village and extensive burial grounds. These actions led to the social psychological incorporation of Indian identity, but rather than conducted privately within a family context, it was again done at a community level. 700 acres of land including the Moyaone site, which Turkey Tayac had put in trust to the Department of the Interior for the creation of Piscataway National Park in 1961, became the object of land claims (Tayac, 1997:222; National Park Service, 1990; Gay, 1974; PIN letter to Richard L. Stanton, National Park Service Superintendent, July 22, 1974). Because the burial grounds at Moyaone were the site of continued ceremonial practice and consecrated lands, access and control of them also translated into a religious freedom issue (Crane, 1983:AI; Joy, 1983:2; Schoettler, 1984; Perley, 1985:4C; Willoughby, 1983:2D; Barreiro, 1986:21). The burial grounds land claims issue renewed tensions between the Piscataway and local land-owners, many of whom were descendants of the squatters who disregarded old reservation boundaries. In particular, the landowners who formed the board of the Alice Ferguson Foundation tried to dismantle the Piscataway group presence by attempting to tear down the sweatlodge and prohibit overnight ceremonies at Moyaone (Katherine G. Powell letter to PIN, March 14, 1980; Elmer S. Biles letter to PIN, January 7, 1981; Elmer Biles letter to National Park Service, January 8, 1981; Jacob Fish, NPS, letter to PIN, March 27, 1981). The landowners were no longer dealing with the Piscataway as a few surviving individuals, but as a cohesive group that brought along AIM representation to its meetings for land access. Unlike the previous time periods, the Piscataway received support for access and religious freedom through the 1970s, 80s, and 90s. The entire U.S. congressional delegation sent a joint letter of concern for the Piscataway to be freely allowed at Moyaone (Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, Senator Barbara A. Mikulski, Congressmen Charles McC. Mathias, Parren J. Mitchell, Clarence D. Long, Michael D. Barnes, and Roy Dyson letter to NPS, March 14, 1983).

The Piscataway began their vigorous pursuit of Moyaone, and the hundreds of human remains that archaeologists extracted from the site, with incorporation and persist in the endeavour to the present. Collectively, they pushed the National Park Service to agree to the dismantling of the "Block House," a brick structure that housed Piscataway skeletal remains in open display at the park (Slepicka, 1976). The participants in the Block House event felt that they were releasing the souls of their ancestors, even though some were not Piscataway themselves. The common concern and incorporation of feelings for common

origins was essential in catalyzing this event. In the breakdown of the Block House, the Piscataway made the statement that they were not to be represented as the dead, but were very much alive in the modern age. Eventually, the Piscataway took the desecration and access case to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous People in 1981 (Tayac, 1981; International Indian Treaty Council Papers, nd; Report of Commission 2, 1981; Scarupa, 1981:22). A great deal of non-Indian support coming from legislators, church groups, media, and civil rights organizations provided apertures for the Piscataway to promote the land issue, highlighting the importance of resource availability and geopolitical trends toward new group promotion.

With the land issue at the center of political activity, the basic aboriginal worldview of land as central to culture and to collective identity can be seen as making wide entry again into the Maryland Indian community. The value of land as a feature of self, as a site of one's creation, was disseminated through common traditions in which ceremonies were enacted. The community began to flock to the burial grounds for ceremonies that had been practiced only by one family through the prior one hundred years. The ceremonies included four major annual observances: the Feast of the Dead, Mid-Winter, Awakening of Mother Earth, and the Green Corn Ceremony (Billy Tayac interview; Turkey Tayac interviews with Kelly Giorgio). In addition, a sweatlodge was re-instated at the burial grounds and naming ceremonies, marriages, and memorials were performed in large groups. Young Piscataways were given aboriginal names at Moyaone (David Harley interview). The burial grounds, Moyaone, also came into popular usage for individual prayer and supplication. The Piscataway, as a community, along with other indigenous individuals in the area began to frequent the burial grounds as an expression of identity as American Indians. The Piscataway site came to be a centralizing location for Indians of many tribes who were either visiting or residing in the D.C. metropolitan area.

Along with the Moyaone land claim, the Piscataway also asserted colonial treaty rights regarding no taxation, which was recognized for tribes across the country. In 1977, a white land owner, Joseph Kaspar, donated 285 acres of land in Harford County, Maryland (The Aegis, 1977). When the Piscataway were taxed on the land, four sympathetic state legislators introduced bills to put the land into trust as a new Indian reservation (Gay, 1977; Barnes, 1977:4; Baker, 1977; The New Prince George's Post, 1977). The Piscataway posted a sign on the property: "Indian land, Keep out" (Goldberg, 1977:B2). The Piscataway framed the issue as an opportunity for the state to thank the Piscataway for helping the original settlers. The bills for tax relief and creation of a new reserve did not pass, but the case is an example of how the Piscataway began to garner political support as a community. Other Indians joined in these efforts, concerned with

the protection of aboriginal land regardless of whose traditional jurisdiction it went under. These actions are reminiscent of the joint efforts made in the Forest Wars when Indians held the line for common territories. That property was viewed as a location where American Indians could practice their traditions without disturbance.

The most prominent illustration of how the Piscataway had affixed themselves as a widely linked and influential re-organized community includes their mobilization for the traditional burial of Chief Turkey Tayac at the Moyaone burial grounds located in Piscataway National Park. Turkey, who had put twenty acres of Moyaone into trust with the Department of the Interior for the creation of Piscataway National Park, had made a verbal agreement with Secretary Stewart Udall. The agreement is shown in a photo of the two men shaking hands at the establishment of Piscataway Park (National Park Service Photo # 10071-G, February, 22, 1968). Turkey wished that his people would always be able to freely visit the site and that he could be buried with his ancestors in the chiefs' ossuary at Moyaone. When Turkey began to sicken in 1976 at the age of 81, he went to the Department of the Interior to make arrangements for his imminent burial and was told that no one there had ever heard of him.

The Piscataway took the issue to the United States Congress, and Representative Gladys Noon Spellman introduced a burial bill. The bill stated:

> [The] Secretary of the Interior shall allow any chief of the Piscataway Indian Tribe who dies after the date of enactment...to be buried in the ossuary located on the land acquired by the Secretary of the Interior. (H.R. 14901, July 27, 1976)

Exemplifying the new structural support for the Piscataway, Joseph G. Anastasi, Secretary of Maryland's Department of Economic and Community Development, which oversaw Indian affairs referred to the effects of the burial bill: "the sense of community and tribal identity of the Piscataway of Southern Maryland will be enhanced immeasurably" (letter to PIN, October 8, 1976). The burial bill was not just a family matter, and not even of concern just to one tribe. Its passage would affirm for other Indians that indigenous traditions could find recognition in the United States.

When Turkey died in 1978, the bill had not passed. The Piscataway and other American Indians in the Washington D.C. area waged an intensive political campaign to pass it (Hodge, 1978; Baker, 1979). The concerns were to see justice done, to honor the wishes of their chief. A storm of support came from other tribes, churches, anthropologists, sympathetic public, and most importantly, in Congress. Hundreds of letters went to

Congress and to the National Park Service in support of the bill (Piscataway Indian Nation Correspondence file, 1979). Finally, an Act of Congress passed for the burial in 1979 (Public Law 98-87, sec.301) (Figure 6.4). Senator Paul Sarbanes introduced the burial bill, stating "Chief Turkey Tayac...served as a living link between the present park and the historic land of his tribe" (DECD Newsletter, 1979). Senators Moynihan, Hattfield, Long, and Byrd fervently supported its passage (Piscataway Indian Nation correspondences 1978-1979). The Maryland General Assembly passed unanimous resolution in support of the burial of Chief Tayac, who "was a nationally known medicine man of the Piscataway Nation" and to honor him as "Chief of the Piscataway Nation" (H.R.32, 1979) (Figure 6.5).

Associates from work in the earlier part of the century, such as the Nanticoke, Powhatan, Lumbee, and the National Congress of American Indians also came to the Piscataways defense (letters to PIN from Kakwirakeron, Ganienkeh Mohawk Territory, February 9, 1979, Lewis Bad Wound, Lakota Treaty Council, January 2, 1979; Fort Peck Tribal Council Resolution, 1979). New allies, including the Mohawk, Lakota, and numerous other northern and western tribes also joined in the fight. In a public expression of pan-Indian unity, Chief Bill Eagle Feather, co-founder of the modern movement to legalize the outlawed Sundance ceremony in South Dakota, came to bury Turkey. In return, Piscataway representatives went to Lakota funerals to help conduct burial ceremonies that had been preserved over time for their chiefs, Chief Bill Eagle Feather and Chief Frank Fools Crow.

From the mid-1980s, the Piscataway greatly expanded their hemispheric work, as was the trend internationally among indigenous peoples.Working with the coming of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's invasion of the Americas in mind, planning meetings and delegations including Piscataways took place in Central and South America. Because of their location near Washington, DC, the Piscataway also took the position as hosts to indigenous delegates from Latin America. A prophecy quickly took hold, coming from the Andean Quechuas: when the condor and the eagle meet again, a new world will come (Hemispheric Interviews). The symbology quickly made sense to those who heard it, that North American Indians were the eagle, and South American Indians were the condor. A similar ideology, coming from Salvadoran Nahuatl and Guatemalan Maya mythology also struck home: when Indians come together, a giant will awaken and the mountains will tremble (Hemispheric Interviews).

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Gibbons	McCloskey	Roybal
Gilman	McCormack	Royer
Gingrich	McDade	Rudd
Ginn	McEwen	Runnels
Glickman	McKinney	Russo
Gonzalez	Madigan	Sabo
Gore	Maguire	Satterfield
Gradison	Markey	Sawyer
Gramm	Marks	Schroeder
Grassley	Marriott	Schulze
Gray	Mathis	Sebelius
Green	Matsui	Seiberling
Grisham	Mattox	Sensenbrenner
Guarini	Mazzoli	Shannon
Gudger	Mica	Sharp
Guyer	Mikulski	Simon
Hagedorn	Miller, Calif.	Skelton
Hall, Ohio	Miller, Ohio	Slack
Hall, Tex.	Minish	Smith, Iowa
Hamilton	Mitchell, Md.	Smith, Nebr.
Hanley	Mitchell, N.Y.	Snowe
Harkin	Moakley	Snyder
Harris	Moffett	Solarz
Harsha	Mollohan	Spellman
Hawkins	Montgomery	Spence
Heckler	Moore	St Germain
Hightower	Moorhead, Calif.	Stack
Hillis	Moorhead, Pa.	Staggers
Hinson	Mottl	Stanton
Holland	Murphy, Ill.	Stark
Hollenbeck	Murphy, N.Y.	Steed
Holt	Murphy, Pa.	Stewart
Holtzman	Murtha	Stokes
Horton	Myers, Ind.	Stratton
Howard	Natcher	Studds
Hubbard	Nedzi	Swift
Huckaby	Nelson	Synar
Hughes	Nichols	Tauke
Hutto	Nowak	Taylor
Hyde	Oakar	Thompson
Jeffords	Oberstar	Traxler
Jenkins	Obey	Trible
Jenrette	Ottinger	Udall
Johnson, Calif.	Panetta	Ullman
Jones, Okla.	Patten	Van Deerlin
Jones, Tenn.	Patterson	Vanik
Kastenmeier	Pease	Walgren
Kazen	Pepper	Walker
Kelly	Perkins	Wampler
Kemp	Petri	Watkins
Kildee	Peyser	Weaver
Kindness	Pickle	White
Kogovsek	Preyer	Whitehurst
Kostmayer	Price	Whitley
Kramer	Pursell	Whittaker
LaFalce	Quayle	Whitten
Lagomarsino	Quillen	Williams, Mont.
Latta	Rahall	Williams, Ohio
Leach, Iowa	Railsback	Wilson, Bob
Leach, La.	Rangel	Wilson, C. H.
Leath, Tex.	Ratchford	Wilson, Tex.
Lee	Regula	Wirth
Lehman	Reuss	Wolff
Leland	Rhodes	Wolpe
Lent	Richmond	Wright
Levitas	Rinaldo	Wyatt
Livingston	Ritter	Wydler
Lloyd	Roberts	Wylie
Long, La.	Robinson	Yates
Lott	Rodino	Yatron
Lowry	Roe	Young, Mo.
Lujan	Rose	Zablocki
Luken	Rostenkowski	Zeferetti
Lundine	Roth	
McClory		

NAYS—39

Anthony	Hance	Paul
Ashbrook	Hansen	Shelby
Badham	Hertel	Shumway
Bauman	Hopkins	Shuster
Beard, R.I.	Ichord	Solomon
Carney	Jacobs	Stangeland
Cleveland	Jeffries	Stenholm
Collins, Tex.	Loeffler	Stump
Conable	Lungren	Symms
Crane, Daniel	McDonald	Vento
Deckard	Marlenee	Volkmer
Evans, Ind.	Michel	Young, Fla.
Hammerschmidt	O'Brien	
	Pashayan	

NOT VOTING—43

Anderson, Ill.	Crane, Philip	Lewis
Bailey	Derrick	Long, Md.
Bethune	Fish	McHugh
Bolling	Flood	McKay
Bonior	Goldwater	Martin
Brademas	Goodling	Mavroules
Brown, Ohio	Hefner	Mineta
Cavanaugh	Ireland	Myers, Pa.
Chappell	Johnson, Colo.	Neal
Chisholm	Jones, N.C.	Nolan
Collins, Ill.	Lederer	Pritchard
Rosenthal	Stockman	Waxman
Rousselot	Thomas	Weiss
Santini	Treen	Winn
Scheuer	Vander Jagt	Young, Alaska

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Brademas with Mr. Bethune.
Mr. Waxman with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Bonior of Michigan with Mr. Pritchard.
Mr. Weiss with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mr. Scheuer with Mr. Young of Alaska.
Mr. Rosenthal with Mr. Thomas.
Mr. Santini with Mr. Winn.
Mr. Nolan with Mr. Rousselot.
Mr. Hefner with Mr. Goldwater.
Mr. Neal with Mr. Goodling.
Mr. Ireland with Mr. Lewis.
Mr. Jones of North Carolina with Mr. Brown of Ohio.
Mr. Lederer with Mr. Martin.
Mr. Mavroules with Mr. Philip M. Crane.
Mr. Mineta with Mr. Fish.
Mr. Myers of Pennsylvania with Mr. Cavanaugh.
Mrs. Collins of Illinois with Mrs. Chisholm.
Mr. Bailey with Mr. Chappell.
Mr. Derrick with Mr. Long of Maryland.
Mr. McHugh with Mr. McKay.

Mr. SOLOMON changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

☐ 1450

AUTHORIZING SECRETARY OF INTERIOR TO PROVIDE FOR COMMEMORATION OF EFFORTS OF GOODLOE BYRON

Mr. PHILLIP BURTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 5419) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the commemoration of the efforts of Goodloe Byron to protect the Appalachian Trail, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, concur in the Senate amendments numbered 1 through 3, and concur in the Senate amendment numbered 4 with an amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments as follows:

Page 1, after line 2, insert:

TITLE I

Page 1, line 3, strike out "That" and insert "Sec. 101.".

Page 2, line 9, strike out "Sec. 2." and insert "Sec. 102.".

Page 3, after line 16, insert:

TITLE II

Sec. 201. (a) In order to preserve and interpret for the benefit, inspiration, and education of present and future generations the home and office of Frederick Law Olmstead, the great American landscape architect and designer, there is hereby established the Frederick Law Olmstead National Historic Site (hereinafter referred to as the "Site").

(b) The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to in this Act as the "Secretary") is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange, the property comprising the former home and office of Frederick Law Olmstead at 99–101 Warren Street, Brookline, Massachusetts, together with such adjacent lands and interests therein as the Secretary deems necessary, for establishment of the Site. The Secretary may also acquire for the purposes of the site all or any portion of the documents, equipment, drawings, and other materials comprising the Olmstead archival collection.

(c) It is the express intent of the Congress that the Secretary should substantially complete the acquisition program authorized by this Act within two years after the date of its enactment.

Sec. 202. (a) The Secretary shall administer the property, Site, including personal property comprising the archival collection, acquired for the purposes of this Act in accordance with the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended and supplemented, and the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), as amended.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to enter into a cooperative agreement with an appropriate entity for the management of the archival collection acquired for the purposes of this Act.

(c) Within three years of the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate, a general management plan for the Site pursuant to the provisions of section 12(b) of the Act of August 18, 1970 (84 Stat. 825), as amended. Within six months of the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall submit a written report to the same committees relating the state of progress of his acquisition and provisions for management and permanent protection of the archival collection. He shall submit a similar report within one year of the date of enactment of this Act to the same committees indicating the final management and protection arrangements he has concluded for such collection.

Sec. 203. (a) Effective October 1, 1979, there are authorized to be appropriated from the Land and Water Conservation Fund such sums as may be necessary for the acquisition of lands and interests therein.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, effective October 1, 1979, an amount not to exceed $514,000 for the acquisition of the archival collection; an amount not to exceed $200,000 for development; and an amount not to exceed $1,290,000 for the preservation of the achival collection.

TITLE III

Sec. 301. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary shall permit the late Chief Turkey Tayac to be buried in the ossuary at Piscatawny Park in Oxon Hill, Maryland. After consultation with the members of the family, the Secretary shall select the site in such ossuary at which Chief Tayac may be buried. No Federal funds may be used for the burial of Chief Tayac except such funds as may be necessary for the maintenance of the burial site by the Department of the Interior.

TITLE IV

Sec. 401. The National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, approved November 10, 1978 (92 Stat. 3467), is amended as follows:

(a) Section 101(8), re: DeSoto National Memorial, is amended by changing the phrase "changing '$3,108,000' to '$5,108,000'." to read "by changing '$175,000' to '$292,000'."

(b) Section 101(23), re: Pecos National Monument, is amended by changing "$2,375,000" to "$2,575,000".

(c) Section 301, re: revision of boundaries, is amended by changing the words "but not exceed" in the first sentence to "but not to exceed".

(d) Section 301(8), re: Great Sand Dunes National Monument, is amended by (a)

Figure 6.4. Public Law 98-87, 1979, zllowing for burtial of Chief Turkey Tayac at Moyaone.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 32

91lr2797 3100-00000

By: Delegates Booth, McCaffrey, and Wolfgang
Introduced and read first time: February 14, 1979
Assigned to: Environmental Matters

Committee report: Favorable with amendments
House action: Adopted
Read second time: March 21, 1979

SIGNED

RESOLUTION NO. 12

APR 10 1979

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION

By the President and the Speaker

A House Joint Resolution concerning

Burial of Chief Turkey Tayac

FOR the purpose of requesting the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to allow the burial of Chief Turkey Tayac in a certain location.

WHEREAS, Chief Turkey Tayac, who died on December 8, 1978, was a nationally known medicine man of the Piscataway Nation; and

WHEREAS, Chief Tayac served in the Armed Forces of the United States during World War I and was both severely wounded and gassed; and

WHEREAS, He was an activist in the Indian Movement and helped preserve Indian culture; and

WHEREAS, Chief Tayac desired to be buried on land he owned at Accokeek, Maryland which he gave to the Department of the Interior to be included in Piscataway Park; and

WHEREAS, The Department of the Interior has since refused to allow him to be buried there, so that his body is presently interred in a mausoleum awaiting return to Mother Earth in the Indian tradition; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND, That the United States Congress is urged to enact legislation to honor Chief Turkey Tayac as Chief of the Piscataway Nation, by allowing his burial in the Indian tradition on land he once owned in Piscataway Park at Accokeek, Maryland; and be it further

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EXPLANATION:
Underlining indicates amendments to bill.
~~Strike--out~~ indicates matter stricken by amendment.

Figure 6.5. Maryland General Assembly Resoulution, 1979.

Significantly, in 1989, the Piscataway hosted the annual AIM conference calling it "In the Spirit of Tecumseh," to recall the efforts made at pan-Indian nationalism two hundred years before. At the conference, 600 individuals from at least 50 different indigenous nations attended. They held the conference outside at their Sun Dance arbor, established by Chief Frank Fools Crow in 1986.

Several years later, the Piscataway took on the position as central organizers for the largest North American collective action on October 12, 1992, the Columbian Quincentenary. The event was initiated through the foundation of a new movement organization, the League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations, which had been founded on Piscataway land by representatives of 21 indigenous nations in 1991. The central tenet was to expand the vision of the Iroquois Great Law of Peace to develop an inclusive indigenous government that would cut across tribal lines. In front of the United Nations in New York, built by Iroquois iron workers, 8,000 Indians and supporters stood in front of the banner: "Many Nations, One People." To establish the event, they participated in travels to different indigenous territories throughout North America, pledging their common identity and enforcing their ideas of being the same people through the cultural practices of the host nations.

Emerging in sun, from the dark submergence in the backwater swamps, the Piscataway along their never-ending journey stood with other indigenous peoples to speak with one voice.

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Note: Location in parentheses indicates place of interviewee's residence.

Piscataways (* indicates direct family relationship to author)

Grace Faircloud Proctor Marsh Califano (NY), October 30 and 31, 1987, Brooklyn, New York.

Gloria Linkins Clark (PA), November 17, 1993, via telephone.

James D'Amico (FL), May 1998 via telephone

Michael D'Amico (NJ), November 1997 via telephone

Cecelia Proctor Harley (MD), November 7, 1987, August 10, 1993, and February 14, 1996, Port Tobacco and Brandywine, Maryland.

David Harley (MD), July 1992, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Paul Ravenall Harley (deceased) (MD), November 7, 1987 and August 10, 1993, Port Tobacco and Brandywine, Maryland.

Gertrude Proctor Newman (MD), February 14, 1996, Brandywine, Maryland.

Pearl Proctor Swann (MD), November 14, 1992, Accokeek, Maryland.

Theodore Swann (MD), November 14, 1992, Accokeek, Maryland.

*Billy Redwing Tayac (MD), October 20,1987 and November 12, 1992, Port Tobacco, Maryland

*Joseph Bedford Proctor Tayac (NY), October 29, 1987 and November 15, 1992, New York City, New York.

*Mark Wild Turkey Tayac (MD), February 15, 1995, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Clinton Watson (MD), November 14, 1992, Accokeek, Maryland.

Faye Watson (MD), August 4, 1991, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

*Julie Tayac Yates (VA), November 2, 1987 and April 14, 1993, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Other North American Indian Peoples

Jimmy Flicker Ridgeway, Nanticoke-Lenape (NJ), May 21, 1991, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Sweetsie Ridgeway, Nanticoke-Lenape (NJ), May 21, 1991, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Chief Bill Eagle Feather, Rosebud Lakota (SD), November 13, 1979, Oxon Hill, Maryland.

Chief Frank Fools Crow, Oglala Lakota (SD), August 7, 1986, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Mel Lonehill, Oglala Lakota (SD), August 8, 1986, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Jay Mason, Mohawk-Cree (Toronto), August 9, 1992, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy

Tekarontake Paul Delaronde, Akwesasne Mohawk, October 15, 1994, Washington D.C. and October 11, 1997, Kahnawake Mohawk Territory, Canada.

Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall (deceased), Kahnawake Mohawk, May 31, 1992, Kahnawake Mohawk Territory, Quebec, Canada.

Kahn-Tineta Horn, Kahnawake Mohawk, October 11, 1997, Kahnawake Mohawk Territory, Canada.

Kahente Horn-Miller, Kahnawake Mohawk, October 11, 1997, Kahnawake Mohawk Territory, Canada.

Chief Ronald LaFrance (deceased), Akwesasne Mohawk, September 1987, Ithaca, New York.

Oren Lyons, Onondaga, April 1990, Syracuse, New York.

Frank Notowe, Longhouse Well-keeper, Kahnawake Mohawk, October 11, 1997, Kahnawake Mohawk Territory, Canada.

Kakwirakeron Art Montour, Akwesasne Mohawk, October 15, 1994, Washington D.C. and October 11, 1997, Kahnawake Mohawk Territory, Canada.

Chief Jacob Thomas (deceased), Six Nations Cayuga, November 1987, Ithaca, New York.

Hemispheric Indigenous Peoples

Cofan Elders, Ecuador, April 1988, Napo Province, Ecuador.

Chief Adrian Esquino Lisco, Spiritual Leader, ANIS [National Association of Indigenous Salvadorans (El Salvador), December 1987, Sonsonate El Salvador and October 20, 1993, Port Tobacco, Maryland.

Segundo Antonio Jacanamijoy Tisoy, Coordinator, COICA [Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin], December 10, 1992, New York City, New York.

Taita Antonio Jacanamijoy, Traditional Shaman, Inga (Colombian Amazon), April 1999, Washington D.C.

Luis Macas, Senator, Saraguro Quichua (Ecuador), March 1988, Quito, Ecuador,and May 25, 1997, Washington D.C.

Luis Llauquiri Maldonado, Otavalo Quichua (Ecuador), March 22, 1988, Otavalo Ecuador.

Pocomam Maya Delegate, (Guatemala), December1987, Sonsonate, El Salvador.

Taita Querubin, Traditional Shaman, Cofan (Colombian Amazon), April 1999, Washington D.C.

Salvador Quishpe, Saraguro Quichua (Ecuador), April 27, 1997, Takoma Park, Maryland.

Margarito Xib Ruiz, Coordinator, Indigenous Peoples Coordination (Chiapas, Mexico), September 23, 1993, Washington D.C.

Scholars

James Glenn, Archivist, Smithsonian Institution, July-August 1992, Washington D.C.

Dr. Ives Goddard, Curator, Smithsonian Institution, July 1992, Washington D.C.

Dr. Richard Koritzer, Research Associate, Smithsonian Institution, August 4, 1996, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Dr. Michael Pratt, Director, Fallen Timbers Project, March 1997 via telephone.

Rebecca Seib-Toup, Researcher, April 1999.

Dr. Lucille St. Hoyme, Anthropologist Emeritus, Smithsonian Institution, August 4, 1996, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Dr. T. Dale Stewart, Anthropologist Emeritus, Smithsonian Institution, July 10, 1992, Washington D.C.

Archived Interview

Chief Turkey Tayac with Kelly Giorgio, seven hours of taped interview 1974, Department of Anthropology, George Washington University, Washington D.C.